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MEMOIRS

OF THE

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. A. ARNAULT AND C. L. F. PANCKOUCKE.

NEW EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY E. LITTLEFIELD,
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1841.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:
District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the second day of January, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, CHARLES EWER, of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, *to wit:*

"Memoirs of the public and private life of Napoleon Bonaparte, translated from the french of M. V. Arnault, C. L. F. Panckoucke and others. Audi alteram partem. In two volumes. Vol. I"

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned:" and also to an Act entitled "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving and Etching Historical and other Prints."

JNO. W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

PREFACE

In ushering these Memoirs of the Life of Napoleon Bonaparte into the world, we have not confined ourselves to the splendid work of M. V. Arnault; but, in order to furnish a faithful narrative, public, political and private, have availed ourselves of every species of information afforded by different authorities, from the commencement of the career of the departed hero, to the closing scene of his last hours at St. Helena.

It is an undoubted fact, that the greatest light has been thrown upon the character and conduct of this extraordinary personage, subsequent to his exile to St. Helena in 1815; and the communications since made by his faithful attendants, and various generals, in France and elsewhere, have now received the stamp of unquestionable authority.

Acting upon the maxim that requires the *hearing of both parties*, and considering that public opinion, in this country, respecting the character and actions of Napoleon, has been formed chiefly from the perusal of the writings of Englishmen, we have preferred the translation of these Memoirs from several French authors of eminence, to any others. To avoid the imperfections inseparable from hasty productions, which have been promoted by the avidity of the public for every thing relative to Napoleon, we have waited for the assistance of all the most valuable publications on the continent, especially *Victoires, Conquêtes, Desastres, Revers et Guerres Civiles des Francais*, de 1792, a 1815; par Une Société des Militaires et de *Gens de Lettres, Paris, C. L. F. Panckoucke, Editeur.*

To this work, consisting of twenty-six octavo volumes, a number of French generals and superior officers have actually contributed; and the editor may justly boast of "*actions of eclat*, remarkable and curious facts, traits of bravery and generosity *les mots heureux des chefs et soldats;* the history of each regiment, and, in fact, of every thing honourable to the French in all parts of the world where they have fought."

We trust that the object of our undertaking, to furnish a correct view of the life of Napoleon, public, political, and private, has been obtained to the utmost extent of the limits prescribed; and that the *Citizen*, the *Soldier*, and the *Man*, have been faithfully exhibited. Napoleon, if not great in his beginning, was great in his career—great in his fall; but never so great as his patience and magnanimity have shown him in his captivity. "It was during the years of a dreary and hopeless exile, that his mind, whose element was action, whose health depended on incessant and boundless exertion, left to prey upon, and eat into itself, at length seemed to rekindle: hence it was fortunate that the impetuous exuberance of his ideas forced him to have recourse to the dictation of his Memoirs; for, in this manner, his statements came warm and fresh from his powerful and original mind, stamped with the innate freedom, boldness, and energy of his character, and utterly divested of any symptom of painful and anxious elaboration. To the future historian, their value will be incalculable: with regard to the Memoirs themselves, no history can ever supersede them."

The facts herein recorded need not the brilliant fancy of the poet, nor the artful skill of the rhetorician, to render them interesting. The simple detail, and the narrative unadorned, are quite sufficient to engage the attention of the reader through a series of events, that are without a parallel in the annals of the world.

MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

The Family of the Bonapartes, and their Situation in Corsica—Cardinal Fesch—Madame Bonaparte—Birth of Napoleon—He enters the School of Brienne—His Acquirements—Pichegru—Ridiculous Tales and Anecdotes of Napoleon in his Youth—His Retreat at Brienne—A severe Disciplinarian—His Partiality for heroic Games—Fortress of Snow, attacked and defended with Snow-balls—A regiment formed of Flint-stones—Anecdotes—Narrowly escapes drowning—Anecdote—Admitted into the Artillery—Mesdames Colombier—General Paoli—Bonaparte appointed Commandant of the National Guard in Corsica—Commands an unsuccessful Expedition against Cagliari—Makes a fruitless Attack upon Ajaccio—Is banished from Corsica, and embarks with his Family for France.

Charles Bonaparte, the father of Napoleon, was a Corsican of a noble family, as well as his spouse, a woman of remarkable beauty and sound judgment. He was at first intended for the law, and had cultivated his mind by studies adapted to his future profession. But, called upon by the danger of his country, he quitted the long robe for the sword, and distinguished himself under Paschal Paoli.

Charles Bonaparte remained in Corsica, and conciliated the esteem of the French and the affection of his compatriots, by the good qualities he possess-

ed. In 1776, Corsica having sent a deputation to the king of France, selected from the three orders of the states, Charles Bonaparte appeared at Versailles as deputy from the *noblesse*. A short time after, he was nominated judge and assessor of the tribunal of Ajaccio, and he thus re-entered the career for which he was originally intended. He was tall, handsome, and well made. Educated at Rome and Pisa, it was at the latter place he studied the law. He died at the age of thirty-eight, of an habitual induration of the heart. He had experienced a temporary relief during one of his visits to Montpelier, and was interred in one of the convents there.

Charles Bonaparte married Mademoiselle Letitia Ramolini, whose mother, after the death of her first husband, married Captain Fesch, an officer in one of the Swiss regiments which the Genoese usually maintained in the island. Cardinal Fesch was the issue of the second marriage, and was consequently step-brother to Madame Bonaparte.

Whilst the war was carried on by the Corsicans against the French, Madame Bonaparte shared the fatigues and dangers of her husband, who was an enthusiast in the cause of his country. In his different expeditions she frequently followed him on horseback, whilst she was pregnant with Napoleon. She possessed extraordinary vigour of mind, joined to considerable pride and loftiness of spirit. She was the mother of thirteen children, though a widow at the age of thirty. Of these only five boys and three girls lived, all of whom became conspicuous characters during the reign of Napoleon.

In 1767, when the Corsicans took up arms to resist the subjugation of their country to the yoke of

France, who had purchased the island of its old masters the Genoese, the father of Napoleon first quitted the gown for the sword, and under General Paoli, who was godfather to his eldest son Joseph, fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, for the liberties of his country.

While this contest continued, Madame Bonaparte, the mother of Napoleon, was constantly flying from town to town, and from village to village, to avoid the French, dreading nothing so much as falling into their hands. After repeated changes of place, she was delivered of Napoleon, her second son, two months after the Corsicans had given up the struggle. Pius VII. was excessively struck with the circumstance, when it was related to him in the year 1801, by the French ambassador.

This distinguished and interesting member of the Bonaparte family, their late venerable mother, retained till her death great remains of beauty, and was as dignified in adversity as she was moderate in prosperity. Her thoughts and feelings for the last few years of her life had but one sole object—the prisoner of St. Helena, whose pride she reproved in the days of his glory; whose fall she lamented, more as the child of her affections, than as the sovereign of a mighty empire.

This remarkable woman paid the debt of nature at Marseilles in the decline of the year 1822. The evening preceding her death, she called together all her household. She was supported on white velvet pillows; her bed was a crimson damask, and in the centre hung a crown decorated with flowers. The whole of the apartment was lighted in grand style. She called her servants one after another to her bed-side, where they knelt, and kissed her

extended hand, which was shrivelled, and covered with a profusion of rings. To the chief director of her finances, Juan Barosa, she said, "Juan, my blessing go with thee and thine."—To Maria Belgrade, her waiting-woman, she said, "Go to Jerome; he will take care of thee. When my grandson is emperor of France he will make thee a great woman."—She then called Colonel Darley to her bed-side: he had attended her in all her fortunes, and in Napoleon's will, he had assigned him a donation of 14,000*l.*—"You," said she, "have been a good friend to me and my family. I have left you what will make you happy. Never forget my grandson, and what he and you may arrive at, is beyond my discerning; but you will both be great."—She then called in all her junior servants, and with a pencil, as their names were called, marked down a sum of money to be given to each. They were then dismissed, and she declared she had done with the world, and requested water. She washed her hands, and lay down upon her pillow. Her attendants found her dead, with her hand under her head, and a prayer-book upon her breast. Her chief heir is her grandson, who, it is said, will ultimately receive an immense fortune. To her seven children, still living, namely, Joseph Bonaparte, Lucien, Louis, Jerome, Eliza, Pauline, and Caroline, and to Hortensia, daughter of Josephine, she bequeathed to each and every one of them the sum of 150,000 scudi, 37,000*l.* sterling, making in the whole 300,000*l.* And to her brother, Cardinal Fesch, she left a superb palace, filled with the most splendid furniture and varieties of every description.

Joseph Napoleon, grand electeur, the eldest of the family, was originally intended for the church,

on account of the influence possessed by that friend of the family, Marbeuf, archbishop of Lyons. He went through the regular course of study; but when the moment arrived for his taking orders, he refused to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. He became successively king of Naples and of Spain, but is now a citizen of the United States. He married Miss Julia Clary, who resides at Brussels as Countess of Survilier.

The other brothers of Napoleon were Louis, Lucien, and Jerome. The first was distinguished as grand constable of France, and afterwards king of Holland. Since the restoration of the Bourbons, he has assumed the title of Count St. Leu.

Lucien has now a princely residence at Rome, to the vicinity of which he has been in a measure confined ever since his brother's abdication, subsequent to the battle of Waterloo.

Jerome Bonaparte, the youngest brother, was made king of Westphalia in 1807, and in the same year married to Catherine, daughter of the king of Wirtemberg by his first wife, Caroline of Brunswick.

Maria Annunciade Carolina, youngest sister to Napoleon, born March 25, 1788, married Prince Murat, afterwards king of Naples.

Maria Anna Eliza, another sister, became great dutchess of Tuscany, princess of Lucca and Piombino. She is since deceased.

Maria Paulina, a third sister, was married to the Prince Borghese, duke of Guastalla.

Napoleon was born about noon on the 15th of August, on the day of Assumption in the year 1769, or, as some have asserted, in 1768. His mother, who was possessed of great bodily energy, wished

to attend mass, on account of the solemnity of the day, and, being taken ill at church, was delivered on her return home before she could be conveyed to her chamber. The child, as soon as it was born, was laid on the carpet, an old fashioned article representing at full length the heroes of fable—this child was Napoleon.

Napolion, or Napoleon, as before observed, was the second son of Charles Bonaparte and of Madame Letitia Ramolini, from whose marriage sprang eight children, who, two excepted, have sat upon thrones. One of these exceptions was Lucien, who, to the pleasure of being a king, preferred setting himself in opposition to the soldier who made kings.

As it may readily be conceived, Napoleon in his early youth was adroit, lively, and agile in the extreme. He had gained, it is said, the most complete ascendency over his brother Joseph, who was often beaten and ill-treated; if complaints were carried to the mother, she usually took the part of Napoleon, and would seldom allow Joseph to speak in his own defence.

The French government, regarding education as one of the most efficacious means of modifying the national character, and of attaching the rising generation to the interests of France, having decided that a certain number of young Corsicans, belonging to families who had the greatest influence, should be educated in the French schools, Napoleon entered as a king's scholar in the military school of Brienne, under the monks who then superintended even those establishments. His name, which in his Corsican accent he pronounced as if written *Napoilloné*, from the similarity of the sound, procured for him, among his youthful companions, the nick-

name of *la paille au nez*, viz. straw in his nose. In 1783, Napoleon was one of the scholars who, at the annual competition at Brienne, were selected to be sent to the military school at Paris, to finish their education. M. Keralio, the inspector, was particularly attached to young Napoleon. He was fond of the boys in general; played with them when they had finished their examinations, and permitted those who had acquitted themselves most to his satisfaction to dine with him. Bonaparte was singled out by him to be sent to Paris, though he had not quite attained the requisite age. Upon its being suggested to him to wait till the following year, and give his pupil more time for improvement, he replied, "I know what I am about; and if I am transgressing the rules, it is not on account of family influence. I know nothing of the friends of this youth. I am actuated only by my own opinion of his merit: I perceive in him a spark of genius which cannot be too early fostered."

M. Keralio died before he could carry this resolution into effect; however, M. de Regnaud, his successor, the next year fulfilled his intentions, and young Napoleon was sent to Paris. The following document, which has been incorrectly given in different publications, is here inserted verbatim, as taken from the register of the *Ecole Militaire de Brienne*, for the year 1784, the copy of which was purchased by Louis Bonaparte for a considerable sum. It may be necessary to state, that two students of the college of Brienne were annually chosen as fit persons to be sent to the *Ecole Militaire* of Paris, and that the above year was that in which Napoleon Bonaparte and Monsieur de Castres were so selected. The following is the trans-

lation of the certificate which the former carried with him:—

Description of the King's Students, capable, from their age, of entering the Service, or of passing to the Military School of Paris; namely,

M. de Bonaparte (Napoleon) born the 15th of August, 1764. Height, 4 feet, 10 inches, 10 lines: has finished his fourth degree.

Of good constitution, excellent health, a character docile, frank, and grateful; of very regular habits; has always distinguished himself by his application to mathematics: he is pretty conversant with history and geography; rather deficient in polite accomplishments, as well as Latin; having only finished his fourth class. He will prove an excellent marine.

Deserves to pass to the School at Paris.

As a proof of the susceptibility of his temper, it is related, that one day the quarter-master, a man of harsh disposition, condemned Napoleon, by way of punishment, to wear the serge coat, and to take his dinner on his knees at the door of the refectory. The mortification felt by the disgraced pupil on this account was so great as to subject him to a violent retching and a severe nervous attack, when the head-master of the school, happening to pass accidentally, relieved him from the punishment, and reproved the quarter-master for his want of discernment. Father Patrault also, the professor of mathematics, was much offended on finding that his first mathematician had been treated with such marked contempt.

Napoleon, however, confessed, "that, on attaining the age of puberty, his temper actually became morose and reserved; his passion for reading was carried to excess, and he eagerly devoured the contents of every book that fell in his way." Whilst Napoleon was at this school, Pichegru was his quarter-master, and his tutor in the four rules of arithmetic. Napoleon retained but a faint idea of Pichegru; he remembered that he was a tall man, rather red in the face. Pichegru, on the contrary, preserved a distinct remembrance of young Napoleon; and, when this general joined the royalist party, he was asked whether it would not be possible to gain over the general of the army of Italy. "To attempt that," said he, "would only be wasting time: from my knowledge of him when a boy, I am sure he must be a most inflexible character; he has taken his resolutions, and he will not change them."

The emperor, during his exile, was often amused by the ridiculous tales and anecdotes that are related of his boyhood in the numerous little publications which he had happened to peruse. But one, relative to his *confirmation* at the military school, he allowed to be genuine. It is as follows:—The archbishop who confirmed him, manifesting his astonishment at the name of Napoleon, said he did not know of any such saint, and that there was no such name in the calendar; the boy quickly replied, "That could be no rule, since there were an immense number of saints, and only 365 days."

A similar instance of his promptitude of reply was displayed on another occasion, during his residence at this school: as he was one day undergoing an examination by a general officer, Napoleon answered all the questions proposed with so

much precision, accompanied by such a depth of penetration, that the general, the professors, and the students, were completely astonished. At length, in order to bring the interrogatories to a close, the following question was proposed to the youth:—"What line of conduct would you adopt in case you were besieged in a fortified place, and was destitute of provisions?"—"So long as there were any in the camp of the enemy, I should never be at a great loss for a supply," was the answer, without the smallest hesitation. These emphatic words seemed the prognostic of his future fortunes.

Napoleon from his infancy was generally inclined to be serious and thoughtful, with no small anxiety after knowledge, though the study of the ancient languages had always less attraction for him than history or the mathematics. But, finding few characters similar to his own, his intimates were of course not numerous; but it would be false to insinuate that he had no friends. Some of his earliest connexions of amity originated in this school. M. Fauvelet de Bourriene was among these, and always attached himself to the fortunes of Napoleon in Italy, in Egypt, and in France, when, under the title of consul, he took possession of the government.

Few of the pupils at Brienne were admitted into the retreat that Napoleon had formed for himself, upon the ground that was assigned to him to cultivate or break up at his pleasure. While he was a pupil here, at least out of school hours, though in the midst of about 150 scholars, he lived nearly sequestered, and never participated in their amusements. Upon the ground assigned to him in the garden he chose his place of retreat, and fortified

the entrance with palisadoes, &c. against all intruders. Within this intrenchment he admitted none but his favourite few. He was already a severe disciplinarian,—a premature virtue in this place,—which more than once exposed him to the resentment of his comrades. They had nominated him their officer, and they were surprised that he should treat them as privates. Napoleon, in the room of childish amusements, substituted the representation of heroic achievements. In the court allotted to the boys for their recreation, he sometimes formed a circus for gladiators; sometimes an arena for the Olympic games. These heroic games being at one period suspended, this Achilles retired into his tent; but there he could not rest long; not waiting even for spring, he left his quarters in the depth of winter. There had been a heavy fall of snow: the boys amused themselves by forming it into heaps. The young general, however, contrived to turn this fall of snow to his advantage, and, with equal accuracy and skill, raised a number of redoubts and retrenchments in the manner of Vauban: he thus formed the first citadel, before which he displayed that genius that was afterwards to open to him the gates of Toulon and Mantua. With bullets of snow he defended that place against the attacks made with others of the same kind. This campaign, however, was soon finished by a thaw.

Still every season afforded convenience for some military game or other. For him each was made to produce arms, and sometimes soldiers. It was not merely with pieces of ivory or lead, that this young tactician composed his army: for want of better, he had at one period got a regiment of flints.

These, being once formed into a line, he would have respected as real soldiers. One of his comrades, who either wantonly or maliciously happened to disarrange his order of battle, had occasion to repent of it, and carried the mark of the chastisement which he drew upon himself by this imprudence all the rest of his days. Still this mark proved useful to him when Bonaparte, many years after, had risen to his highest elevation. It was then announced to him, that one of his former school-fellows wished to be introduced. Napoleon had no recollection of his name: "Ask him," said he, "if he knows of any thing particular that may assist me in recollecting him."—"Sire, he has a very deep scar on his forehead; and he says you ought to recollect what passed between you and him when that was made."—"He is in the right," said the emperor: "I know how that mark was made, I threw a general at his head. Let him come in."

One day, when Napoleon was speaking of Turenne with considerable warmth, a lady observed, "he was a great man, but I should have liked him better if he had not ravaged the Palatinate."—"What does that signify," replied the young officer, briskly, "*if this burning was necessary to his views?*"

It seems evident that the parents of Napoleon had rested their principal hopes on him from his earliest childhood. His father, when dying at Montpelier, though Joseph was with him, spoke only of Napoleon, who was then at the military school. In the delirium which seized him in his last moments, he incessantly called Napoleon to come to his aid with his *great sword*. The grand uncle, Lucien, who on his death-bed was surrounded by all his relatives, said, addressing himself to Joseph, "You

are the eldest of the family; but there is the *head* of it (pointing to Napoleon)—never lose sight of him." The emperor used to laugh, and say, "This was a true disinheritance; it was the scene of Jacob and Esau."

Napoleon was scarcely eighteen years of age when the Abbé Raynal, struck with the extent of his acquirements, appreciated them so highly as to invite him to his scientific *déjeûnés*. The celebrated Paoli was also accustomed to say, "This young man is formed on the ancient model: he is one of Plutarch's men."

When Napoleon was at the military school at Paris, and about seventeen years of age, he had a narrow escape for his life. While swimming in the Seine, the cramp seized him, and, after several ineffectual struggles, he sank. At that moment, he declared he experienced all the sensations of dying, and lost all recollection. However, after he had sunk, the current carried him upon a bank of sand, on the edge of which it threw him, where he lay senseless for some time, till he was restored by the aid of his young companions, who saw him by accident. Previous to this, they had given him up for lost, as they saw him sink, but did not imagine the current would have carried him to such a considerable distance.

Before we follow Napoleon in the career upon which he entered, we shall illustrate an event which was connected with the period of his stay at the military school at Paris. In 1784, when people were generally occupied with the discoveries made by M. Montgolfier, this aeronaut was allowed to make his experiments in the Champ de Mars. One day, when every thing was ready for his departure,

a pupil of the military school insisted upon accompanying him; but notwithstanding all his entreaties, as he was not able to obtain his request, he rushed upon the aeronaut sword in hand, and injured him so much that he was incapable of proceeding. Some biographers have imputed this act to Napoleon; but the perpetrator was one of his comrades, Dupont de Charbon, a young man who has since distinguished himself by the impetuosity of his character upon more than one occasion. Dupont died abroad in a state nearly bordering upon insanity.)

In the year 1785, Bonaparte was admitted into the artillery: he went from the military school at Paris into the regiment de la Fère, in quality of second lieutenant.

Instead of imitating the frivolity of many young men of his age, his mind was continually intent on military studies, and from the lives of Plutarch, a volume of which he generally carried about him, he learned at an early age to copy the manners, and emulate the great actions, of antiquity.

After joining his regiment at Valence, his first comrades at the mess table were Laribossière, who during the empire was appointed inspector-general of the artillery; Sorbier, who succeeded him; D'Hedouville, junior; Mallet, the brother of him who headed the tumult in Paris in 1813; an officer named Mabille, whom, on his return from emigration, the emperor appointed post-master-general; Rolland de Villarceaux, afterwards prefect of Nismes; Desmazzis, senior, his companion at the military school, and the friend of his early years, who, after Napoleon ascended the throne, became keeper of the imperial wardrobe.

The regiment de la Fère behaved so badly to the inhabitants of Turin, that Napoleon was obliged to reduce them. He accordingly had them marched to Paris, and assembled on the parade, where he ordered the colours to be taken from them by some colonels, and lodged in the church of the Invalids, covered with mourning. The officers, who had not behaved so badly as the principal actors, were divided amongst other regiments. Some months afterwards he formed the regiment again under different officers, and the colours were taken from the church with great pomp by a number of colonels, each tearing a piece off, which they burnt, and new ones were given in their stead.

At Valence Napoleon was introduced to Madame Colombier, a lady about fifty years of age, who was endowed with many rare and estimable qualities, and was one of the most distinguished persons in the place. She entertained a great regard for the young artillery officer. She introduced him to the Abbé de St. Rufe, a man of considerable property, who was frequently visited by the most distinguished persons in the country. Madame Colombier often foretold that Napoleon would be an eminent man. The death of this lady happened about the time of the breaking out of the revolution,—an event in which she took great interest. The emperor never spoke of Madame Colombier but with expressions of the tenderest gratitude.

It was also at Valence that Napoleon's first susceptibility of the tender passion was excited by Mademoiselle Colombier, the daughter, who on her part was not insensible to his merits. It was the first love of both, and of that kind which might be expected at their age, and with their education. "We

were the most innocent creatures imaginable," the emperor used to say; "we contrived little meetings together: I well remember one which took place on a midsummer morning, just as day-light began to dawn. It will scarcely be believed that all our happiness consisted in eating cherries together."

When the emperor was proceeding to be crowned king of Italy, in passing through Lyons, he again saw Mademoiselle Colombier, who had changed her name to Madame de Bressieux. She gained access to him with some difficulty; Napoleon was happy to see her, though he found her much altered for the worse. He granted what she solicited for her husband, and placed her in the situation of lady of honour to one of his sisters.

Napoleon himself, it is said, referring to the part which he took at the first breaking out of the French revolution, observed, "Had I been a general, I should have been of the court party; sub-lieutenant, I should have declared for the revolution." He had, however, most decidedly ranged himself under the standard of liberty, when circumstances brought him to the knowledge of one of its most illustrious defenders, a man who till then had been the hero of Corsica, General Paoli. This general, who, after having fought with more glory than success for the independence of Corsica, found himself compelled to retire to England, had been authorized by the Constituent Assembly to reclaim the rank of citizen in his own country, then liberated by France, and of which it was then become an integral part. He arrived at Paris. Napoleon, whose father, as before observed, had distinguished himself in the war of independence, was received as a son by this old friend of Charles Bonaparte.

The qualifications of young Bonaparte, and which had long been perceived by men of less penetration than Paoli, did not escape a man enlightened by so much experience. Whatever might have been the designs of Paoli, he found it very useful to attach this young soldier to himself, who, on his part, followed the old general with all the patriotism of a Frenchman, while the patriotism of Paoli was only that of a Corsican.

The impulse which the French revolution had given to Corsica, was not entirely to the interest of France. The majority of the local population were more in the habit of considering the French as masters than fellow-citizens, and of course could not perceive any liberty in any order of things that did not confer independence upon the whole island. Paoli himself was inclined to this mode of thinking. At first he dissimulated, but he could not long conceal the preference that he gave to the English constitution beyond that which the French legislature had conferred upon Corsica.

This predilection for the British regime, and his aversion to disorder, soon rendered Paoli a suspected character. He was several times accused before the legislature of an intention to deliver up to England that country for whose liberties he had fought. Following the example of the French, the island was divided into aristocrats and democrats: this produced other sub-divisions. Those who were on the side of liberty separated from Paoli's partisans, who had declared for the independence of Corsica; and these being declared traitors by the Convention, perhaps compelled them to become such in reality. Bonaparte remained a French citizen, and, without hesitating between the interest or the in-

clination of his friend, and those of his country, he ceased to be the soldier of Paoli, to avoid becoming a subject to England.

It was not without pain that he divested himself of his long attachment to a man whom he had so many years admired as a hero. He undertook Paoli's defence upon many occasions, attended with danger. With his own hands he fixed upon the walls of Ajaccio the answer by which the municipality of that city refuted the basis of the decree issued against Paoli by the Convention. By this action, not less generous than courageous, he exposed himself to the animadversions of the commissaries sent to Corsica to put that decree in execution. Still his attachment to an habitual friendship did not carry him beyond the limits of his duty. Appointed commandant of the national guard, paid by government, he always maintained the interests of France against the national guard that did not receive pay, but which was in the interest of Paoli. This firmness in Bonaparte was never pardoned. Having quelled a kind of insurrection, he was accused of having provoked the disorder for the purpose of rendering himself useful in repressing it, and was obliged to go to Paris, to justify his conduct. This occurred in the year 1792, an epoch which was distinguished by the fall of royalty in France.

On his return to Corsica, after the memorable 10th of August, in that year, he at length found an opportunity of exercising his military talents. France was proclaimed a republic. She was threatened by, and she attacked all the powers of Europe. More than a million of Frenchmen fled to arms, and in a short time the French armies were upon

the territories of those powers who had been driven from France. Belgium was conquered; Savoy was invaded. A fleet sailed from Toulon under Admiral Truguet. Bonaparte directed this expedition, which seized upon the island and fort of St. Etienne, as well as the Isle de la Madeleine, belonging to the king of Sardinia. This was conquering as far as lay in his power.

Truguet, before he met with the enemy, had to contend with the elements, and this completely prevented the junction of his fleet with the squadron cruising off Naples. When they arrived before Cagliari, they were received in a manner they did not expect from these islanders, who saluted them with showers of red hot balls. The troops that attempted a descent were also defeated. This expedition cost the republic a ship of the line and five or six hundred men, though their success at first seemed placed beyond a doubt. Among the troops were two battalions of the Corsican national guards.

The disorganization and retreat of this fleet inspired the independent party in Corsica with great hopes; the discontented rallied their forces, and, in spite of the decrees of the Convention, and the feeble army left in Corsica to retain them in obedience, they convoked a Consulta at Corté, under the auspices of Paoli, formed a council of government, the secretary of which was M. Pozzo di Borgo, at present the Russian ambassador at the court of France. The president, Paoli, was nominated generalissimo of the Corsican army. With the succours which he received from England, he easily dispersed the troops that took part with France. Ajaccio and every place of importance were very

soon in Paoli's power. When Bonaparte returned into the island, Salicette and La Combe St. Michel, the members of the Convention charged to carry their decree into execution, had taken refuge at Calvi: Bonaparte, in going there to join them, was exposed to considerable danger arising from hatred, and perhaps fear, in a country where custom has the force of law, and where, for the purpose of destroying any man deemed obnoxious, even assassination is authorized by custom. With the assistance of some troops disembarked by the French commissioners, Bonaparte attempted to re-enter Ajaccio, but in vain; the arms of the Convention had no more power than its decrees. The proscription of the conquered was the consequence of the victory. Bonaparte had signalized himself too much to be spared. A decree, excited and signed by Paoli, condemned him to perpetual banishment. Despoiled of his property and his office, Bonaparte embarked with his kindred, who always shared his fortune. A frail bark received this future Cæsar and his family, and conveyed them across the waves, in the prosecution of his high destinies. At that period nothing was more deplorable than Bonaparte's present prospects; nothing more uncertain than the future. But he felt a persuasion that fortune might not always abandon him; and a vast scene still lay open to his views. He was young; he went to France. Probably it was on this occasion that he said, "In a revolution, a soldier should never despair, if he possesses courage and genius."

Previous to this departure, the Bonaparte family had the honour of being threatened with *a march* of the inhabitants of the island; that is, they were attacked by 12 or 15,000 peasants, who came down

from the mountains on Ajaccio, and pillaged and burnt Napoleon's family residence, not sparing either the flocks or the vines. Madame, with a few faithful friends, wandered for some time on the seashore. Paoli, who had for some time perceived this gathering storm, endeavoured to avert it. "Renounce this opposition," said he to madame; "it will prove the ruin of yourself, your family, and fortune;" but madame, like another Cornelia, heroically replied, "that she, her children, and her relatives, would only obey two laws; namely, duty and honour."

CHAPTER II.

Separation of the Bonaparte Family—Siege of Toulon—Generals Cartaux, Dugommier and Bonaparte—General O'Hara—Bonaparte wounded—Appointed to command the Artillery of the Army of Italy—His Imprisonment and Liberation—Goes to Nice—General Dumerbion—Operations against the Austrians and Piedmontese—Bonaparte displaced by Aubry, the Commissioner of the Convention—Restored by M. Pontcoulant—Quarrel between the Sections and the Convention—Bonaparte employed against them—Anecdote—Marriage of Napoleon with Madame Beauharnois—His departure for the Army of Italy in March, 1796—Address to the Soldiers—His Visit to Marseilles.

BONAPARTE and his family, having left Corsica, and disembarked in Provence, found themselves reduced, by their attachment to France, to a state of distress similar to that in which a number of French emigrants had been placed by a contrary cause.

Madame Bonaparte lived at Marseilles with her daughters, upon the scanty allowance assigned her by government in return for the sacrifice she had made of all she possessed. Her sons had to contend with their misfortunes unassisted. Joseph and Lucien obtained employ in the army administration. Napoleon and Louis engaged in the military service.

Returning into the corps of artillery, Napoleon passed as a first lieutenant in the fourth regiment of that corps. A few months after, he rose by the right of seniority to the rank of captain in the second company of the same corps, then in garrison at Nice. This was in the year 1793, when the dreadful event, the execution of Louis XVI., astonished even those of the capital, who were forc-

ed to concur in it, and impressed a degree of horror upon the majority of the French in the provinces.

The proposals made to the inhabitants of Toulon by the British admiral Hood, who blockaded that port by sea, were specious in no small degree. "Declare yourselves," said he, "openly and frankly for the monarchy; hoist the ancient French colours; disarm your ships of war; put us in possession of your forts; and, in the name of his Britannic majesty, I offer you all the succours in my power." These terms being accepted, such a number of English, Spanish, and Neapolitan troops were landed, that it became necessary for the French to assemble an army of 30,000 men, before they could compel the besieged to evacuate the town and the forts.

Assisted by the bravery of the French, General Cartaux, besides gaining some other advantages, took a position before Toulon; but he soon felt his incapacity to carry on such an important operation for any length of time, and General Dugommier, a man of superior genius, was called upon to direct the siege. Previous to this general's arrival, Bonaparte had been appointed to the command of the artillery, and, with a few exceptions, Cartaux placed the most unlimited confidence in the young officer of artillery, whom he called "Captain Cannon."

The success of a siege must depend upon the artillery, especially where they have to contend with artillery.

Bonaparte not only performed all that might have been expected of him, but frequently rectified the errors of others, and displayed the superiority of his genius to more than one officer, his superior in

rank. Preserving his dignity with the representatives that were sent by the Convention to Toulon, as he did with every one else, he trusted that his self-confidence would be justified by his successes. One of the representatives here having made some observation upon the position of a battery, "Mind your own business," said Bonaparte, "and leave mine to me. This battery must remain where it is; I will answer for its effect."

In action he was at all times both officer and soldier: at the taking of a redoubt, and fighting near Marshal Suchet, then a captain, he undertook to load a gun at which an artillery man had just been killed, and, making use of the ramrod whilst it was warm, he contracted a disease which reproduced itself for a long time under a variety of forms: but this he often recollected as one of the first acts of his military career.

The rank of general of brigade was the reward conferred upon Bonaparte for his services at the siege of Toulon.

When Napoleon spoke to Barry O'Meara about the siege of Toulon, he observed, that he had made General O'Hara prisoner—"I may say," said he, "with my own hand. He ran out of the battery, and advanced towards us. In advancing, he was wounded by the fire of a sergeant, and I, who stood at the mouth of the *boyau*, seized him by the coat, and threw him back amongst my own men, thinking he was a colonel, as he had two epaulets on. While they were taking him to the rear, he cried out that he was the commander-in-chief of the English. He thought they were going to massacre him, as there existed a horrible order at that time

from the Convention, to give no quarter to the English. I ran up, and prevented the soldiers from ill treating him. He spoke very bad French, and, as I saw that he thought they intended to butcher him, I did every thing in my power to console him, and gave directions that his wound should be immediately dressed, and every attention paid to him. He afterwards begged of me to give him a statement of the manner of his capture, to show it to his government in his justification. Those blockheads of deputies," continued Napoleon, "wanted to attack and storm the town first; but I explained to them that it was very strong, and that we should lose many men; that the best way would be to make ourselves masters of the forts first, which commanded the harbour, and then the English would either be taken, or be obliged to burn the greatest part of the fleet, and escape. My advice was taken, and the English, perceiving what would be the result, set fire to the ships, and abandoned the town."

During this early exhibition of his skill and courage, Bonaparte attacked a battery occupied by the English, which, having charged it several times, at length, in order to encourage his men, he jumped into, and almost instantaneously received a deep bayonet wound in the interior of the left thigh, about two inches and a half above the knee. He fell backwards, and was received into the arms of Lieutenant Muiron, who safely bore him from the scene of action. This wound nearly cost Bonaparte the loss of his leg; but he ever after regarded Muiron as his brother.

The simplicity of General Cartaux, whom Bonaparte was sent to act under, or rather supersede, at the siege of Toulon, was striking. He was, how-

ever, described as a haughty man, covered with lace from head to foot, who, upon Bonaparte's arrival, asked him what duty he had been sent upon. The young officer modestly presenting the letter he was intrusted with—"This," said Cartaux, twirling his whiskers, "was quite unnecessary; we want no assistance to retake Toulon; but, however, you are welcome, and you may share the glory of burning the town to-morrow, without having experienced any of the fatigue."

In all the disputes, and many occurred, between Cartaux and Bonaparte, as commandant of artillery, the wife of the general was commonly present, and uniformly took part with the young officer of artillery, saying with great *naivete* to her husband, "Let the young man alone; he knows more about it than you do, for he never asks your advice; besides, are you not the responsible person? the glory will be yours."

Soon after the retaking of Toulon, Bonaparte accompanied General Dugommier to Marseilles, and was with him in company there, when some one, struck with his person, asked the general who that *little bit of an officer was, and where he had picked him up?* "That officer's name," replied the general, "is Bonaparte: I picked him up at the siege of Toulon, to the successful termination of which he eminently contributed; and you will probably see, one day, that this *little bit of an officer* is a greater man than any of us."

Bonaparte, being appointed to the command of the artillery, afterwards repaired to the army of Italy: there new persecutions awaited him. He was confident in his own opinions, but these were not conformable to those that had prevailed in the

council. After having seized upon the Col di Tende, Oneglia, and Ormea, in the valley of Tanaro, the army stationary upon the Alps seemed to rest satisfied without extending its conquests. Instead of a war of posts, Bonaparte proposed a war of invasion, and that the army should precipitate itself upon Piedmont from those mountains which no longer afforded it protection.

This advice, given with confidence, though it was afterwards attended with success, was attributed to presumption, and the assurance with which Napoleon repeated it on all occasions, was censured as insubordination. Men of mean talents were only waiting for an opportunity to get rid of the observation of a superior genius. The results of the 10th of Thermidor offered the occasion that was wanted. The connexion between Bonaparte and the commissioners sent by the Convention to superintend the siege of Toulon, was now found useful to the young general. Among these commissioners was the younger Robespierre, who was accused of favouring the projects of his brother. Bonaparte was suspended from his functions, and imprisoned for some time as an accomplice with this commissioner, whom he obeyed in common with the rest of the army. Never despairing, Bonaparte, far from renouncing his system, employed himself in rendering his plan of a campaign as perfect as possible, even when under confinement. In imagination, he had already made a descent upon that beautiful Lombardy which he was soon to conquer in reality. The duration of this imprisonment was not long. The importance of Bonaparte's presence was demonstrated by his absence. Wishing again to conquer, the Convention recalled the man who

had already possessed the art of organizing victory, and to whose talents and excellent combinations General Dumerbion acknowledged he owed his success in Italy, when Bonaparte was first sent to Nice. This was in March, 1794.

General Dumerbion was an old and brave officer, who had previously carried on the war between the Var and the Roya, and was well acquainted with the positions of all the mountains that cover Nice. Bonaparte, having visited the advanced posts, and reconnoitred the line which the army occupied, laid a memorial before General Dumerbion, relating to the unfortunate attack of General Brunet, and to the method of compelling the enemy to retreat beyond the Upper Alps, by taking possession of the Col di Tende. These suggestions being presented to a council, at which the representatives Ricors and young Robespierre were sitting, they were agreed to unanimously. Since the taking of Toulon, the reputation of Bonaparte was quite sufficient to inspire confidence in his designs. Still it is evident, that, for some time, few of the representatives of the people knew how to appreciate his merits and character. At Nice, whilst general of the artillery, he was for a short time put under an arrest by the deputy Laporte, because he would not allow him to employ his artillery horses for the service of the post.

On the 18th of April, 1794, a part of the army under Massena, (Dumerbion being confined by the gout,) in pursuance of Bonaparte's plan, crossed the Roya near Menton, and then divided into four columns: the first marched up the bank of the Roya; the second up that of the Nervia; the third up that of the Taggio; and the fourth moved upon Oneglia.

The column of Oneglia, upon the heights of St. Agatha, fell in with a body of Austrians and Piedmontese, and defeated them. Brulé, the general of brigade, was killed in the action. The headquarters being removed to Oneglia, troops were immediately sent to occupy Loano. From Oneglia the French marched to the sources of the Tanaro, beat the enemy on the heights of Ponte Dinairo, possessed themselves of the fortress of Ormea, entered Garessio, and occupied the road from that place to Turin. In the mean while, the movements of the other three French columns so alarmed the Piedmontese, that they hastily abandoned all the positions which had been stained by so much blood. Saorgio was immediately invested, and capitulated; and, on the 7th of May, the Piedmontese troops, after a brisk attack, were driven from the Col di Tende. In this manner, all the upper regions of the Alps fell into the hands of the French. By these manœuvres, the army of Italy had gained more than sixty pieces of cannon. Saorgio was provisioned, and abounded with ammunition of every kind, being the principal depôt of all the Piedmontese army. In these new positions the French remained till September, when they marched to meet an Austrian force advancing on the Bormida.

General Bonaparte, having passed the straits of the Bormida, proceeded to Chiari, where he fell in with 12 or 13,000 Austrians manœuvring on the plain, who no sooner saw the French army than they retreated to Dego, where being soon attacked, they retired upon Acqui. The French army, having taken Dego, had now several magazines, and had ascertained that there was nothing to fear from the Austrians. This march, directed by Bonaparte, had

spread consternation through all Italy. The French line then extended to Bardinetto and the Col di Tende, passing by Septipani, Melagno, and St. James.

The remainder of the year 1794 was spent in putting all these positions in a proper state of defence, especially Vado. The knowledge that Napoleon acquired, under all these circumstances, became extremely useful to him in 1796, when he was appointed commander-in-chief.

But the successes and advantages which Bonaparte had procured for the republic whilst only general of artillery in the army of Italy, did not seem to give satisfaction to the party that succeeded in the Convention after the fall of Robespierre. Their commissioner, Aubry, was sent into the departments to purify the armies of terrorists, and men without capacity; and he boasted of having excluded no less than 12,000 officers from the fourteen armies. Aubry, with a view of mortifying a man whom he dared not to dismiss from the service, insisted on Bonaparte's removal from Italy to the army of the west in La Vendée. Bonaparte refused to accept of this appointment, and came to Paris. His expostulation with Aubry on this occasion, which occurred in May, 1795, is said to have formed a perfect scene. Bonaparte insisted vehemently, because he had facts to bear him out. Aubry was bitter and obstinate, because he was invested with power. Napoleon, he said, was too young, being then but twenty-five years of age; who answered that a soldier soon grew old on the field of battle. In the event, he was obliged to pass a long period in a state of painful inactivity.

During this interval, his pecuniary resources were exhausted, in a great measure, by the depreciation of the paper money: friendship, however, came to his aid: Marmont never quitted him; Junot also assisted him, and assured him that the state of inaction to which he had been reduced could not be of any long continuance.

It is not surprising that Bonaparte, about this time, indulged an idea of quitting France, and engaging in the service of the Turks, then at war with Austria. But Aubry having been in his turn displaced, and his office supplied by M. Pontcoulant, he not only re-commissioned Bonaparte, but retained him in Paris to assist the labours of the military council, to whom Bonaparte submitted the stupendous plan of his Italian campaign for 1796, which he afterwards carried into execution. This plan might have been taken for a real report of operations actually performed, rather than an outline of such as had only been projected: such was the precision with which every measure afterwards adopted had been previously foreseen.

The quarrel between the Convention and the 48 sections of Paris, which eventfully placed Bonaparte in a more distinguished situation than ever he had held before, originated in their passing the two obnoxious laws of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, (22d and 30th of August,) 1795. These decrees expressed, that two thirds of the members composing the Convention should be re-elected for the new legislature. The people, especially the Parisians, could not endure the idea of men re-electing themselves; as, upon the principle they had acted for two years, they might continue for life, and thus establish a system infinitely more odious than abso-

lute monarchy. Besides, the Convention was justly represented as a body of tyrants and assassins, purged indeed of the most infamous monsters, such as Robespierre and others, yet still continuing the murderers of the 2d of September, the conspirators of the 31st of May, the applauders of the assassination of the Gironde party, &c.

This Convention, on Sunday, October 4, declared their intentions of having recourse to arms by a proclamation, and, after the lapse of a few hours, Napoleon Bonaparte, by accepting an appointment as second in command under M. Barras, had pledged himself to support their measures of coercion. The plea set up in justification of this conduct by Napoleon and his friends, rests upon the circumstance, "that the Convention was successively torn by factions, which were never able to acquire any stability, but varied their principles almost every month. The interior of the republic was afflicted by a horrible system of reaction: the national domains could no longer find purchasers; the assignats fell every day, the armies were without money, being till then only supplied by requisitions and the *maximum;* the magazines were also empty, and the soldier was no longer sure of bread. Even the recruiting had ceased, though the armies continued to gain great advantages, because they were more numerous than ever. The party of the Bourbons were every day increasing. Pichegru, the first general of the republic, had been gained over. All parties were tired of the Convention, and it was tired of itself. It had promised the nation a constitution, and it perceived, at length, that the safety of that, and its own also, depended on the fulfilment of the expectations which had been raised."

On the 25th of June, 1795, it adopted the constitution known under the title of that of the year III. The government was intrusted to five persons, under the name of the Directory; the legislature to two councils, called the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of the Ancients.

It was now a prevalent opinion, that the fall of the constitution of 1794 was to be attributed to that law of the Constituent Assembly which excluded its members from the legislature. The royalists, in particular, found all their arrangements baffled; but what brought Napoleon Bonaparte into more notice than ever was, the rejection of the additional laws by the forty-eight sections of Paris, who assembled, and, forming as many tribunes, these were filled by the most violent orators, Laharpe, Serizi, Lacretelle the younger, Vaublanc, &c.

The national guard, who were in the interest of the sections, consisted of upwards of forty thousand men. The sections appeared one after another at the bar of the Convention, warmly expressing their sentiments. The Convention, it is said, believed that this commotion in the capital was like those riots so common in London, and of which instances frequently happened in Rome at the time of the Comitia.

On the 12th of Vendemaire, (3d October, 1795,) at seven or eight in the evening, General Menou, accompanied by the representatives of the people who were commissioners to the army of the interior, proceeded with a numerous body of troops to the place of the meeting of the section Lepelletier, but, after spending an hour in useless negotiations, withdrew by a kind of capitulation, without having dispersed or disarmed the meeting. The

section, thus triumphant, declared itself permanent; but Menou was deprived of his command.

General Bonaparte was at the theatre Feydeau, when some of his friends informed him of the singular events that were passing. Seeing the conventional troops thus repulsed, he hastened to their assembly, and found them in the greatest agitation. The representatives sent with Menou, to exculpate themselves, accused him of treason, and he was put under arrest. To repair this failure, every representative recommended the general who possessed his confidence. The members of the Committee of Public Safety proposed Napoleon, who being absent, messengers were sent after him into the city. Napoleon, who had heard of all that had been said, and, besides, knew what was in agitation, deliberated with himself more than half an hour, on the course most eligible for him to pursue. After weighing the odium which might attach to him on account of his taking part against the people in behalf of the Convention, he judiciously concluded, that if that should sink, all the numerous victories, and all the blood that had been shed, would be lost. He made up his mind, went to the committee, and was appointed general-in-chief. Upon consulting Menou, he learned that the army consisted of only five thousand soldiers, of all descriptions, with forty pieces of cannon then at Sablons, guarded by only fifteen men. This was an hour after midnight, when Napoleon despatched Murat, then a major of the 21st light horse, to bring this artillery to the garden of the Tuilleries. One moment longer would have been too late; a column of the section of Lepelletier, on the march to seize those guns,

was only prevented by the timely arrival of these cavalry.

On the next morning, from six to nine, Napoleon visited all the posts, and placed this artillery at the head of the Pont Louis XVI., the Pont Royal, the Rue de Rohan, the Pont Tournant, &c. All the matches were lighted, and the whole of the little army was distributed at the different posts, or in reserve in the garden, and the Place Carrousel. In the mean while the *generale* was beat through Paris, and the national guards formed at all the *debouches*, and they were even so insolent as to come and beat the *generale* on the Carrousel and the Place Louis XV. The danger was imminent, and matters on the 13th of Vendemaire grew worse and worse; the Convention had been summoned to dismiss the troops which threatened the people, and to disarm the terrorists. The Tuilleries was already strictly blockaded, and at length, at a quarter after four, some musket shots were discharged from the Hotel de Noailles, where the sectionaries had introduced themselves; the balls reached the steps of the Tuilleries. About a hundred men attempted to make a stand at the Theatre de la Republique, but a few shells from the howitzers dislodged them, and at six o'clock all was over.

Some assemblages still continued on the 14th in the section Lepelletier, but they were soon dispersed. In the evening order was completely restored, owing to the promptitude of General Bonaparte's measures, and Paris was once more perfectly tranquil.

It was after this great event, when the officers of the army of the interior were presented in a body to the Convention, that the members, by acclama-

tion, appointed Bonaparte general-in-chief of the army.

General Menou was delivered over to a council of war, and would certainly have suffered death, had not Bonaparte, with his usual address, insisted that the three representatives sent with him deserved the same punishment.—Lafond was the only one executed; he had evinced great courage; the head of his column on the Pont Royal formed again three times under the fire of grape-shot, before it entirely gave way.

Napoleon now, as commander-in-chief of the army of the interior, had to re-organize the national guard, an object of the highest importance, as it then contained no less than 104 battalions. At the same time he formed the guard of the Directory, and re-organized that of the legislative body.

It was only during a few months that Napoleon commanded the army of the interior, and these were replete with difficulties and embarrassments. The members of the new government were not only divided amongst themselves, but often in opposition to the councils; there was still a ferment amongst the subdued sectionaries; the Jacobins assembled again, under the name of the Society of the Pantheon, and the agents of royalty formed a powerful party; the finances and paper money were in discredit; the troops were discontented; and a famine afflicted the capital to such a degree, that ten or twelve times the supply of provisions failed entirely. Thus no ordinary degree of activity and address was required to maintain tranquillity in the capital against such a combination of calamities.

In fact, Napoleon had frequent occasion to ha

rangue in the markets, the streets, the sections and fauxbourgs.

One day, when the usual distribution of bread at the bakers' shops had not taken place, and while Napoleon was parading about with a part of his staff, he was alarmingly pressed upon by the crowd. A woman of a monstrous robust appearance made herself eminently conspicuous by her menacing gestures and exclamations. "Those fine epauleted fellows, said she, pointing to the officers, "laugh at our distress: so long as they can eat and grow fat, they care not if the poor die of hunger." Napoleon turned to her, and said, "Good woman, look at me; which is fattest, you or I?" He was then so thin, that he described himself as a slip of parchment. A general burst of laughter disarmed the fury of the populace, and the party continued their round.

The marriage of Napoleon with Madame Beauharnois, which took place about this time, has been imputed to causes not only derogatory to the high spirit which he always possessed, but to others that seem quite unnecessary. In regard to the marriage between Napoleon and Josephine, it seems an intimacy had been cemented some considerable time before his new appointment.

During the general disarming of the sections of Paris, a youth of ten or twelve years of age presented himself before the staff, entreating Bonaparte to give orders for restoring to him the sword of his father, who had been a general of the republic. This youth was Eugene Beauharnois, afterwards viceroy of Italy. Napoleon, moved by the nature of his request, and by his juvenile grace, granted his petition; when, on beholding his father's sword, young Eugene burst into tears. The gene-

ral was touched at his sensibility, and behaved so kindly to him, that Madame Beauharnois thought herself obliged to wait on him next day, to thank him for his attention. Napoleon, a short time afterwards, returned her visit. Every one knew the extraordinary grace of the Empress Josephine, her sweet and attractive manners. The acquaintance soon became intimate and tender, and it was not long before they were married.

Whilst Napoleon had been thus employed in Paris, the command of the army of Italy had been given to Kellerman, an officer of much personal bravery, but who made such unskilful dispositions, that, by the end of June, 1795, the army had lost the positions of Vado, St. James, and Bardinetto. General Kellerman even talked of evacuating the Genoese coast, and so alarmed the Committee of Public Safety, that they convened all the representatives who had been in Italy, in order to consult them. They justly described Napoleon as perfectly acquainted with the localities of the country, and, being summoned by the committee, he convinced them, that, to maintain the line of the French army, not more than half their number was required. The conquest of Italy notwithstanding all these unpromising circumstances, seemed to have been reserved for Napoleon Bonaparte.

In February, 1796, the army of Italy might be considered as having no leader! General Scherer had asked for money to pay his troops; for horses to replace those that had died for want of food; and government could give him neither one nor the other; but returning evasive answers and empty promises, he declared that, if any further delay took place, he should be compelled to evacuate the

Genoese territory, return to the Roya, and perhaps repass the Var. The Directory then resolved to supersede Scherer, and Napoleon was fortunately chosen as the only man capable of extricating them from the embarrassing situation into which they had sunk. He accordingly set out for Nice a second time.

Napoleon was now freed from that restraint he had long felt in the capital. His genius required a theatre of much larger extent, and victories less painful, though they might be obtained with greater difficulty. His departure from Paris, to commence his celebrated Italian campaign of 1796, took place on the 1st of Germinal, or the 21st of March. He was the only person who was not astonished at his good fortune. When a friend, who was congratulating him upon this appointment, testified some surprise at his youth, he replied, "I shall return old."

The full tide of Napoleon's glory set in from this Italian campaign.

The French army of Italy was about 31,000 strong, whilst nearly three times their number were opposed to them, and besides had 200 pieces of cannon. The character of the French troops was excellent; but their cavalry was wretchedly mounted, and they were equally deficient in artillery. There were no means of transporting stores of any kind from the arsenals; all the draught-horses had perished through want. The penury of the French finances was so great, that the efforts of government could only furnish 2000 Louis in specie to the military chest. An order was issued for all the general officers to receive four Louis apiece, by way of outfit. The supply of bread was uncertain; that of meat had long

ceased. For means of conveyance there remained only two hundred mules. It was impossible to think of transporting more than twelve pieces of cannon. Bonaparte, however, put the army in motion with the following address:—"Soldiers! you are naked, ill-fed: much is due to us; there is nothing to pay us with. The patience and courage you have shown in the midst of these rocks are admirable; but they win you no glory. I come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world: rich provinces, great cities, will be in your power. There you will have wealth, honour, and glory. Soldiers of Italy! can your courage fail?"—These words were addressed to his troops on the 29th of March.

On his way to the head-quarters of this army, he stopped thirty-six hours at Marseilles, to visit his family.

CHAPTER III.

Bonaparte's Plan—His personal Appearance—Battle of Montenotte Millesimo—Dego—Anecdotes—Affair of Fombio—Death of La Harpe—Bridge of Lodi.

BONAPARTE'S plan had been shown to several generals by the Committee of Public Safety. Berthier, who from his experience had acquired considerable respect, bestowed very high eulogiums upon it; but added, that to carry it into execution would require fifty thousand men more. Bonaparte, however, undertook to open this campaign with the trivial re-enforcement of six thousand men from the army of the Pyrenees. From the army of the Alps he received no succour till Piedmont had been conquered; and, Italy being subdued, he was on his march to Carinthia, when he was joined by the division under Bernadotte, upon the borders of the Tagliamento. The first obstacles Bonaparte had to contend with, arose from his own army.

Bonaparte, at all times more imposing by his attitude than by his stature, with a shape extremely slender, now laboured under the disadvantage of a pale and meager visage; and the expression of his countenance was lost beneath his long hair whitened by the use of powder. Besides, he by no means sat well on horseback, and when he rode along the ranks, the soldiers complained that a boy had been sent to command them.

The French army exceeded fifty-six thousand men. Napoleon hastened the opening of the campaign, though without magazines. ammunition, or a military chest.

On the 29th of March, only thirty-five thousand men took the field with Bonaparte.

A battle ensued, April 9th; and fifteen hundred killed, 2000 wounded, and the taking of many colours, were the fruits of this victory, which enabled the French to remove their head-quarters to Carcara.

On the 14th, another battle was fought, in which the Austrians lost 10,000 killed and prisoners. Twenty-two pieces of cannon and fifteen standards were the fruits of this victory. The French now found, on the summit of the Alps, every species of ammunition, and other objects which the celerity of their march had prevented them from bringing. Thus Bonaparte increased his forces by the same operations that diminished those of the enemy.

Before Bonaparte commenced this campaign of 1796, he had promised to write to M. Faypoult, French minister at Genoa. Fifteen days had elapsed, and no letter arrived, though hostilities had commenced some time. One morning, however, about five o'clock, a domestic entered M. Faypoult's chamber in a dreadful fright, telling him to rise, as the Austrians, he said, were in the city. The minister imagined that it was probable that the enemy, after gaining some great success, might have been so elated with it, that it might have induced him to break through all measures, and to take possession of Genoa, at least provisionally. He dressed in haste, when the first secretary of the legation, entering, confirmed what the domestic had said before

Determined to protest against this violation of the rights of nations, the two diplomatists proceeded to the hall of audience without delay, when they saw an Austrian general just alighting from his horse, accompanied by a body of cavalry and a numerous staff. Before M. Faypoult had time to express himself, the Austrian general delivered him a letter, which the emotions he experienced would scarcely permit him to open. This letter was from Bonaparte. Faithful to his promise, it contained an account of his victories at Montenotte and Millesimo, inviting him to provide accommodations for General Provera, who, instead of being a conqueror, as M. Faypoult supposed, was now a prisoner.

The Directory, in their despatches to Bonaparte, expressed themselves thus: "To-day, general, receive the tribute of national gratitude."

Shut up in his capital with the wreck of an army that had been beaten every time they fought, Victor Amedeus the Third appeared resolved to sustain a siege. This prince, who had made several campaigns with his father, not much in favour of the French, judging of the present by the past, did not at first suppose that a *petit caporal*, a little republican corporal, could beat the old generals of kings: and he could not imagine why General Beaulieu, who had promised him never to pull off his boots till he came to Lyons, should have taken quite a contrary route. At length, roused from his incredulity by the murmurs of the public, and reposing confidence in himself in proportion as he withdrew it from others, "Ah!" said he, pulling up his small clothes—"*if I go; if I go*,"—every time he learnt the news of a new defeat. Bonaparte, however, saved him the trouble of going.

Order being restored, the army advanced in pursuit of victories.

At this time some of the inhabitants of Genoa, seeing the Austrians descending from the mountains, came out of the city to inquire the cause of these movements. One among them questioned two travellers that had stopped near a broken carriage, saying, "Cannot you tell us what all this signifies?"—"It signifies," replied an elderly gentleman, "that a man of seventy-four years of age has been duped by a young man of twenty-six."

Bonaparte's new system of military movements excited universal attention. This campaign was scarcely opened, when Lombardy was inundated with troops in every direction, and the French approached Mantua *pêle mêle* with the enemy. Napoleon, when in the vicinity of Pizzighitone, saw a tall German colonel, a prisoner, and, questioning him, without being known, as to how affairs were going on, was told, "very badly. I know how it will end," said he.

The appellation of *petit caporal*, as applied to Bonaparte, has also been mentioned; but an anecdote confirming this has been related by Napoleon himself. When he commanded near the Col di Tende, the army was obliged to pass over a narrow bridge: he gave directions that no women should be allowed to accompany it, as the service was a most difficult one, and required the troops to be continually on the alert. To enforce this order, he placed two captains on the bridge, with instructions, on pain of death, not to permit a woman to pass. He afterwards went to the bridge himself, to see

that these orders were obeyed, where he found a crowd of women assembled, who, as soon as they perceived him, began to revile him, bawling out, "Oh then, *petit caporal*, is it you who have given orders not to let us pass?"—After each battle, the oldest soldiers used to hold a council, and confer a new rank on their young general, who, when he made his appearance in the camp, was received by the veterans, and saluted by his new title. They made Bonaparte a *corporal* at Lodi, and a *sergeant* at Castiglione; and hence the surname of *petit caporal*, which for a long time was applied to him by the soldiers.

Although Bonaparte had thus defeated two armies, and detached one of the kings from the coalition against France, he could not allow any respite to his troops.

Notwithstanding his defeats, Beaulieu left Piedmont with 30,000 men, including 4000 cavalry. This army was soon increased by re-enforcements from the Tyrol. Bonaparte in the interim, availing himself of the treaty of Cherasco, observing, by this means, that "one wing of the enemy's army gave him time to beat the other," pursued Beaulieu.

Beaulieu, disconcerted by Bonaparte's tactics, endeavoured to maintain himself in Piedmont by acts of perfidy—by seizing of Alexandria, Tortone, and Valenza, in contempt of the alliance which existed between the emperor his master and the king of Sardinia.

After having indulged Beaulieu's error by false movements, Bonaparte suddenly advanced by a forced march to Castello San Giovani with three thousand grenadiers and fifteen hundred horse. He

arrived here on the 6th of May, at eleven at night, and at seven in the morning he was at Plaisance.

On the 8th, at noon, learning that an enemy's division was not far off, he marched towards Fombio, where he found them most advantageously intrenched in a position defended by twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy resisted two hours; but was then obliged to retire towards the Adda, after having lost a number of men and horses, and the greatest part of their baggage.

The night following the glorious day of Fombio was distinguished by a fatal event. Beaulieu, having received intelligence of the defeat of his troops at that place, marched under favour of the night to Codogno, with the view of surprising a French division that occupied that place. He arrived there about two in the morning: he had already overthrown the advanced posts, when General La Harpe, having mounted his horse on the first alarm, presented himself, and restored order. His escort, on his return, was composed of hussars, who, owing to the darkness of the night, were mistaken for the enemy's hulans, and received a volley, which killed La Harpe! Bonaparte, in announcing his death, traced his eulogium in a few words: "The republic," said he, "has lost a man who was devoted to its interests; the army one of its best generals; and every soldier a companion."

Bonaparte hastened to pursue the enemy to Lodi, on the river Adda, where General Beaulieu had collected his forces. On the approach of the French, the Imperialists abandoned the town of Lodi, with such precipitancy, that they had not time to destroy the bridge.

It was defended by ten thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon. No consideration could resist the impetuosity of the soldiers, or their leaders; for, on the 10th of May, 1796, four thousand grenadiers being formed into a solid column, made a sudden charge, and had proceeded six hundred feet, exactly half the length of the bridge, when they became exposed to such an incessant shower of grape-shot, that their foremost ranks were entirely swept away; and the troops who had hitherto advanced at a quick pace, with bent heads and extended bayonets, were staggered, and began to hesitate. At this critical moment, the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, and D'Allemagne, starting from the ranks, invited the grenadiers to renew the attack, while Bonaparte in person, seizing a standard, placed himself at their head. Animated to the highest degree of enthusiasm by such an example, the troops rushed by their generals with resistless impetuosity, amidst the cries of "*Vive la Republique!*"

CHAPTER IV.

Consternation at Milan—Public Entry of Bonaparte—Treaty of Cherasco, between the King of Sardinia and the Directory—Revenue derived from Italy—Anecdote—Bonaparte's Intercourse with the Learned at Milan—Insurrections at Pavia, &c.—Anecdotes—Narrow Escapes of Bonaparte—Treaty between France and Naples—Negotiations with the Pope—Alarm at Rome—Seizure of Leghorn—Bonaparte entertained by the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Revolution at Genoa—Anecdote—Beaulieu succeeded by Wurmser—Perilous Situation of the French Army—General Junot—Lonado—Stratagem—Battles of Castiglione and Bassano—The Dog and his dead Master.

THE uninterrupted successes of Bonaparte had thrown Milan into a state of inquietude that was soon converted into terror. The nobility, the clergy, the administration, and even the citizens, had neglected nothing that could stimulate the courage of the populace. Colours had been distributed, processions ordered, rewards promised; and, by the aid of voluntary contributions, the nobles, persons in office, and the citizens, had provided a fund for the support of the widows and orphans of those who might fall in the defence of their country; and whilst the ladies went about collecting, and the soldiers were fighting, the priests invoked the blessings of Heaven.

When the news arrived at Milan of the passage of the Po, hope was converted into dismay; the battle of Lodi was followed by despair. The Archduke's family abandoned Milan in the greatest pre-

cipitation: the court hastened to follow this example. Such was the state of the public feeling, when the army presented themselves at the gates on the 14th of May, 1796.

General Bonaparte, who followed close after Massena, made his public entry into the capital of Lombardy on the next day. He had received the keys of the city from a deputation sent to Marignan. Count Melzi, at the head of the nobles, came to meet him as far as Melezuolo. At the Roman gate of Milan, Bonaparte found an immense population, and the civic guard formed in a double line to receive him. Bonaparte marched in the midst of the grenadiers of Lodi, among whom were some generals. Enthusiasm was at its height: military symphonies, executed by the Milanese and French musicians, were mixed with the acclamations of the people during this triumphant march to the palace of the archduke, where a splendid banquet was prepared. The *fête* was terminated by a brilliant ball, in which the ladies of Milan were dressed according to the French mode.

But, besides seizing the money in the military chest, a contribution of twenty millions was imposed upon Milan, to alleviate which, it was agreed that the silver used in the churches should be melted down, and placed to the account. It was not till this epoch that the army began to receive pay in money. On the same day that Bonaparte entered Milan, the treaty with the king of Sardinia and the Directory was signed at Paris.

From this period the army of Italy was no longer a burthen, but became a source of revenue to France, and assisted in paying other armies. Six weeks after the opening of this campaign, besides

ten millions placed at the disposal of the Directory, Bonaparte had sent upwards of 200,000 francs to the army of the Alps, and a million to the army of the Rhine.

The Directory, under the idea that Bonaparte had till then pursued his own plans, thought it was now the proper time for him to adopt theirs: they wanted to divert him from pursuing the route to Germany, which he had opened by the battle of Lodi; to employ Kellerman in his place, and send him into the south of Italy. He offered to give up the command, and they desisted from the prosecution of their purpose. In his apology, he observed, that he believed it was better to have one bad general than two good ones. One day he had occasion to complain to Berthier, that the measures prescribed for provisioning the army had not been followed. "That," said Berthier, "is astonishing; however, I have given my orders for this purpose." —"What do you call *your orders?*" replied Bonaparte, briskly. "Here is only one man who has any right to give orders, and that is myself; it is the business of the rest to obey: and so, to begin with you, sir, mount your horse, and see that *my* orders are obeyed."

While Bonaparte was at Milan, the celebrated Oriani paid a visit to him. On entering, the astronomer was astonished, and unable to return an answer to the general's questions; but, recovering from his surprise, he said, "Excuse me—this is the first time I have ever entered these superb apartments; my eyes are not accustomed," &c.—thus pronouncing a severe criticism on the government of the archduke.

By writing to Oriani, Bonaparte seemed to communicate his sentiments to all the learned of Italy. "In Milan," he said, "the learned did not enjoy the consideration to which they were entitled. Retired in their closets, they thought themselves happy, if kings and priests did them no harm.

According to each treaty, subsequent to the conquest of Piedmont, that of Cherasco excepted, a special article was introduced, conferring upon the French the right of choosing the best pieces of painting, sculpture, &c. in the public collections, and of sending them to France.

It was not without regret that Italy ceded these objects of its worship, these pledges of her past glory. To ransom a single painting, that of St. Jerome, the prince of Parma offered a million, which his people would have had to pay. It was at Venice and Rome that the museum of Paris reaped the richest harvest.

After having employed eight days in providing for the army, and in forming a provisional government for Lombardy, Bonaparte left Milan, and a sufficient number of troops to blockade the Austrians in the citadel.

Scarcely had the French left Milan, apparently with the same testimonies of affection on the part of the people as they first received, when General Despinoy, observing that mobs were assembling in the suburbs of the city on the side of Pavia, ordered a party of troops to march thither, whom the rebels attempted to disarm; but, the detachment having wounded and taken some of them, the rest took flight. The *tocsin* was sounded in the country; the priests and nobles excited the massacre of the French commissaries.

A great conspiracy, in fact, seemed to have been forming all through Lombardy, which was finally overthrown. In Pavia, a similar insurrection was quelled. If the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, the general had resolved to raise on the ruins of Pavia a column, on which these words were to be inscribed: "*Here the City of Pavia stood.*" He ordered the municipality to be shot, and two hundred hostages to be arrested, and sent immediately to France.

On the 31st of May, at day-break, the French army arrived at Rivoli, but the enemy had already passed the Adige, and destroyed most of the bridges. In this affair they lost 1500 men and 500 horses. Prince Cuto, general of the Neapolitan cavalry was among the number of prisoners. Thus the Austrians were driven out of Italy, and the French advanced posts reached the German mountains.

The occupation of Verona, which contains three bridges over the Adda, was of the highest importance to Bonaparte. Massena entered this city on the 3d of June, which had been for some time the refuge of Louis Stanislaus, the brother of Louis XVI.

After the passage of the Mincio, and whilst Napoleon was pursuing the enemy in every direction, he entered a castle on the left bank of the river. He was troubled with the head-ache, and bathed his feet. In the mean while a large detachment of the enemy arrived before the castle in great confusion. Napoleon was there, and only a few persons with him; the sentinel on duty at the gate had just time to close it, and cry out, "To arms!" As resistance would have been useless, Napoleon was

obliged to escape through the back gates of the garden, with but one boot on.

In the same campaign, Napoleon incurred another near chance of being taken prisoner. Wurmser, who had been compelled to throw himself into Mantua, and was debouching suddenly on an open plain, learned from an old woman, that, only some moments before, the French general, with but a few followers, had stopped at her door, and that he had fled at the sight of the Austrians. Wurmser immediately despatched parties of cavalry in all directions, to whom he gave orders, that, if they came up with Napoleon, he should not be killed or harmed in any way. His destiny and the swiftness of his horse saved him.

Another anecdote is related of Bonaparte, when upon the point of commencing one of his great battles in Italy. As he was disposing his troops in the order of attack, a light dragoon, issuing forth from the ranks, requested of the general a few minutes' private conversation, with which Napoleon acquiesced, when the soldier thus addressed him:— "General, if you proceed to adopt such and such measures, the enemy must be defeated."

"Wretched man!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "hold your tongue; you will not, sure, betray my secret!" at the same time placing his hand before the mouth of the dragoon.

The simple fact is, that the soldier in question was possessed of an inherent military capacity, and appreciated every arrangement necessary to ensure victory. The battle terminating in favour of Napoleon, he issued orders that the poor fellow should be conducted to his presence; but all search after him proved fruitless; he was no where to be found

After the affair of Borghetto, Beaulieu lost no time in passing the Adige, not to quit Italy, but to approach Mantua. On the 4th of June, Massena, who had left Peschiera, was master of the fauxbourg and of the tower of Cheriale, after driving the enemy into Mantua. A drummer of twelve years of age distinguished himself by climbing up this tower in the midst of musketry and grape-shot, and opening the door to the French. On the same day, Bonaparte, who had advanced to La Favourite, a pleasure-house belonging to the dukes of Mantua, caused the fauxbourg of St. George to be attacked by General Serrurier, who seized the *tête-du-pont.*

Bonaparte was now disposed to use the relaxation afforded him by the Austrians, in putting a stop to the insurrections which had been gathering in his rear. The secondary powers were disposed to follow the example of the king of Sardinia. Naples treated on the 7th of June. An armistice deprived the Austrian army of two thousand five hundred cavalry, and the English fleet of five ships of the line, and several frigates. This was signed by Prince Pignatelli Belmont, on the part of the king of Naples. A bull issued by the pope disavowed the fanatics who, under the pretext of religion, fomented a civil war in France; in fact, the pope himself entered into negotiations with the excommunicated. Bonaparte, nevertheless, pursued the course of his operations against Rome. Whilst he took possession of Ferrara, Augereau occupied Bologna, and Adjutant-General Vignolle seized upon the castle of Urbino. The popish garrisons in all these places surrendered at the first summons; but not for want of the means of defence.

The grand duke, being alarmed, requested the French general to respect a neutral territory. Bonaparte promised not to enter Florence, but to pass through Sienna. On the 26th of June, Vaubois was at Pistoia. Rome was alarmed, as the blood of a French ambassador was still reeking there. Proclamations, demanding vengeance for the death of M. Basseville, and the reconstruction of the capitol, still resounded in the Vatican. The thunders of the church had not been sufficiently powerful to defend the holy city against the Catholic army under the constable of Bourbon; and she did not seem more powerful now against an army perhaps a little less orthodox. Rome submitted to very hard conditions. This was the first time Rome had been made tributary to France; but she was now to pay twenty millions in money and other articles. Notwithstanding the advantages of this treaty were all on the side of France, the approbation of that government was with difficulty obtained. The reduction of Rome was not the only object which Vaubois was charged to accomplish. On the 28th of June, 1796, he took possession of Leghorn.

The grand duke of Tuscany, so far from showing any resentment in consequence of this measure, invited Bonaparte soon after to Florence, where he partook of a splendid entertainment, during which an officer brought him despatches, announcing the surrender of the castle of Milan. The two principal guests, though very differently interested in this affair, possessed a sufficient degree of self-command to prevent the one from expressing his joy, and to enable the other to conceal his mortification.

The revolution that followed at Genoa seemed to arise from the course of events, and did not re

quire the intervention of the French army. A new constitution restored tranquillity.

During the popular agitation that preceded this new establishment, the statues of Andre Doria had been thrown down. The resentment that Bonaparte felt at this act of ingratitude and barbarity, led him to ask, "whether any excess of zeal should lead people to forget their own glory. What barbarous hand could strike that Andre Doria, the founder of your liberty; that hero of patriotism, who refused the sovereignty which was offered him by the emperor of Germany!"

General Beaulieu, finding himself incompetent to withstand a general, "whose mistress was Glory, and whose companion was Plutarch," resigned the command of the army.

General Wurmser, older than Beaulieu, but not less opiniated, was charged with restoring the fortune of Austria beyond the Alps. With sixty thousand men under his command, he flattered himself he should be able to envelope the enemy, who had not more than forty-four thousand. Bonaparte, seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his troops from Verona, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia. In one of these affairs, a Captain Lasalle being made prisoner, and taken before Wurmser, the old general asked him what might be the age of Bonaparte. "He is," said this officer, "of the same age as Scipio when he conquered Hannibal."

These partial advantages did not alarm Bonaparte. Wurmser's march had scarcely commenced, when Napoleon formed the plan, to which he not only owed his safety, but that series of successes which were crowned by the victory of Castiglione

The Austrians being now masters of the heights and left bank of the Adige, the French could no longer retain possession of Verona, without exposing the troops to the hazard of being surrounded. Bonaparte therefore ordered them to fall back, and assembled all his forces at Roverbella.

At this period the left of the French army under Joubert and Massena had been beaten, and the two generals obliged to retreat under the walls of Peschiera. Napoleon, pressed in all directions, saw his communications with France nearly cut off; he was, besides, placed between two armies, each more numerous than his own. Brescia, his principal magazine, was taken. Milan, fifteen leagues in the rear of the enemy, was of no use to him. In this situation, the soldiers were astonished, when assembled in the presence of their chief, to find no alteration in his countenance.

"Fear nothing," said Napoleon—"show that you remain unchanged: preserve your valour, your just pride, and the remembrance of your triumphs, and in three days we shall retake all that we have lost. Rely on me; you know whether or not I am in the habit of keeping my word."

The enthusiasm of the army being now equal to its surprise, Napoleon immediately availed himself of circumstances, and conceived one of those plans which alone would be sufficient to constitute him a great general. He totally abandoned the line of the Adige, gave Augereau orders to march on Brescia, and told his soldiers, "that, if they wished to obtain the victory, it was with their legs alone that it could now be gained." Napoleon gave a little repose to his troops, strengthened himself as much as possible, opened a communication with Serruri-

er, and prescribed the movements which he should adopt. He ordered his brother Louis to take possession of the bridge of St. Mark with two battalions, and on his return he despatched him in the greatest haste to Paris, with an account of what had taken place. "Every thing is now made good," said he. "To-morrow I shall give battle; the success will be complete, as the most difficult part of the task is over. I have no time to write long despatches; describe all that you have seen."

Louis accordingly left Brescia before the battle. A few hours after his arrival at Paris, a courier brought the details of the great victory gained by his brother at Castiglione. As a mark of their satisfaction, the Directory conferred the rank of captain upon Louis.

In this memorable battle, Napoleon contrived to turn all the successes gained by Wurmser to the advantage of the French army.

The battle of Lonado occurred on the 3d of August. Junot, Bonaparte's first aid-de-camp, was sent in pursuit of the fugitive Austrians, at the head of a company of guides. Coming up with the hulans of Bender, he had already wounded their colonel, when, attacked on all sides, he was thrown into a ditch covered with wounds, but not till he had killed six of the enemy with his own hands. Still, apparently with the voice of a dying man, he continued to exclaim, "You are all my prisoners." From this situation he was relieved by his dragoons, and conveyed to the head-quarters.

On this day the Austrians lost twenty pieces of cannon, three or four thousand men killed and wounded, and four thousand prisoners, and among these three generals. The French had to lament

the death of General Bayran, whose probity was equal to his courage.

Wurmser, who was still able to collect 25,000 men, and a numerous cavalry, indulged the hope of retrieving his fortunes. Bonaparte on his side was making arrangements for a general engagement, and for that purpose repaired to Lonado, to see what troops he could collect there. He had scarcely entered, when an Austrian flag of truce arrived to summon the commandant to surrender. The place was in fact surrounded by forces much superior to those within it. This was an embarrassing situation for Bonaparte; however, by a stroke of genius, he disengaged himself with *eclat*. Ordering the officer who brought the flag of truce to be brought before him, and to have the bandage taken from his eyes, "Your general-in-chief," said he, "has the presumption to summon the general-in-chief of the army of Italy! Let him advance. If he presume to insult the French army, I am here to avenge it. Tell him that he and his corps are my prisoners; that one of his own columns is cut off at Salo, and another by the passage of Brescia to Trent, and that if in eight minutes he does not lay down his arms, he shall be shot with his whole corps. Undeceive your commander, and let him see General Bonaparte at the head of his brave republican army; tell your general that will be the highest reward he can expect."

While every one was preparing for the attack, the commander of the enemy's army requested a capitulation. "No," replied Bonaparte; "you are a prisoner of war." The commandant wished to expostulate, but already the light artillery were advancing, and he cried out, "We yield." Thus

1200 French gained a victory over 4000 of the enemy's well arranged force, and defended also by four pieces of cannon.

At five in the morning of the 5th of August, the two armies were in presence of each other. Bonaparte, by a retrograde motion, having drawn Wurmser after him, Serrurier's division turned and attacked his left. This battle terminated what has been called "The Campaign of Five Days," during which Wurmser lost seventy pieces of cannon, and more than twenty thousand men.

Bonaparte, having recovered all his former positions, began to turn his whole attention upon Mantua, and had some thoughts of entering the place by night. Some grenadiers were to embark upon the lake, and seize upon one of the gates, whilst the attention of the besieged was to have been excited by a false attack elsewhere. But, as the water suddenly sunk more than three feet, this project fell to the ground. Bonaparte confided the blockade to General Sahuguet, observing that "operations of this kind depend entirely upon good fortune; upon a dog or a goose."

Bonaparte took possession of Trent in the name of France, and seized all the property that belonged to the emperor and the prince bishop. The route to the Tyrol had been opened to the French by the battle of Roveredo.

The French, after beating the Austrians in the gorges of the Brenta, at Primolano, at Solagna, and carrying the fort of Covelo, on the 8th of September marched towards Bassano, where Wurmser had his head-quarters. Five thousand prisoners, five standards, thirty-five pieces of cannon, with their caissons, fell into the hands of the French,

and Wurmser himself narrowly escaped being taken with the military chest.

Curious to ascertain the loss of the enemy, Bonaparte in the evening rode over the field with his staff, when their notice was attracted by the howlings of a dog, that seemed to increase in proportion as they approached the spot whence they proceeded. "In the deep silence of a beautiful moonlight night," said the emperor, "a dog, leaping suddenly from beneath the clothes of his dead master, rushed upon us, and then immediately returned to his hiding-place, howling piteously. He alternately licked his master's hand, and ran towards us, as if at once soliciting aid and seeking revenge. Whether owing to my own particular turn of mind at that moment, the time, the place, or the action itself, I know not, but certainly no incident on any field of battle ever produced so deep an impression on me. I involuntarily stopped to contemplate the scene. This man, thought I, has friends in the camp, or in his company, and here he lies forsaken by all except his dog."

CHAPTER V.

Victories of the French—Sorties from Mantua—Dreadful Situation of that City—War between the Population of Italy and the Austrians—Excesses at Bologna and Genoa—Anniversary of the French Republic celebrated at Milan—Battle of Arcole—Anecdotes—The sleeping Sentinel—Death of Colonel Muiron.

In the course of six days the French army had gained six victories. Out of the sixty thousand men, with which Wurmser was to reconquer Italy, only ten thousand remained after the battle of Bassano; these he sent to Verona, which they were prevented from entering by General Kilmaine.

Wearied of opposing *sorties*, Bonaparte confined himself to a strict blockade of Mantua.

By the end of September, there were not more than sixteen thousand men in Mantua able to bear arms. The public establishments were not capable of receiving the sick; but, being distributed in the private houses, the whole city might be considered as one vast hospital. After a brisk cannonade, on the 23d, the Imperialists were routed by the republican infantry, who took eleven hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. On the 1st of October, the French attacked the Austrians in their advanced posts of Cereze and Pradella.

On the night of the 18th, the Austrians endeavoured to scale the intrenchments of St. George's, but, being unsuccessful, all their attempts terminated here.

About this time, the general administration of Lombardy solicited permission from General Bonaparte to form a legion to act with the republican army, and to march against the common enemy.

The inhabitants of Modena, abandoned by their duke, proclaimed their independence. This was first done at Reggio, an example which was soon followed at Ferrara and Bologna. Soon after this, under the auspices of Bonaparte, the union of Modena, Reggio, Bologna, and Ferrara, was declared at a general congress. A second congress, held at Reggio, ulteriorly proclaimed the definitive reunion of the dutchies and legations, under the name of the Cispadane republic.

Great excesses took place at Bologna on the day when the tree of liberty was planted; the populace crowded to the houses of the rich, and persons of easy circumstances, to collect money, &c., as they pretended, to purchase wine, for the purpose of rejoicing. Bonaparte, however, arrived, and put an end to this disorder. All the monks not belonging to the convents in Bologna were ordered to quit the city in three days; but they were provided with money sufficient to bear their charges to Rome.

Genoa next drew the attention of Bonaparte. He now wrote to the Genoese government with the dignity and spirit always belonging to his character. "The city of Genoa," said he, "is the focus from whence those wretches proceed who infest the highways, assassinate the French, and intercept our convoys. The governor of Novi protects them: I demand that the Genoese government shall make an example of him. If you do not take measures for this end, I shall. I will burn both villages and towns upon any territory where one single French-

man has been assassinated. I will burn the houses that afford refuge to assassins. I will punish those negligent magistrates who violate the first principle of neutrality, in granting an asylum to the brigands. The assassination of one single Frenchman shall bring destruction upon whole communities who shall not have protected the French."

This minister took refuge in the Imperial fiefs. The focus of intrigue, it seems, had only been removed.

As nothing escaped the penetration of Bonaparte, he soon discovered this den: a detachment was ordered against it; however, three hundred of the banditti, with the English and German diplomatists, had time to escape.

Bonaparte soon after celebrated at Milan the anniversary of the foundation of the French republic. Taking those games and ceremonies that were used at Athens and Rome for models, this *fête* was extremely magnificent. Josephine, the spouse of General Bonaparte, assisted, and, by her graces, attempered the austerity of the military *cortege* which encircled her spouse.

It was at this time he wrote to the emperor of Germany, to propose peace.

The command of the new Austrian army had been conferred on Field-Marshal Alvinzi: this consisted of 45,000 men, which, with those that could be drawn from Mantua, might amount to 60,000. To these Bonaparte could oppose only 30,000. 8300 formed the blockade of Mantua. Augereau had 8000 men upon the Adige. Massena was posted between Bassano and Trevisa with 9000. Vaubois, with 10,000, guarded the defiles of the Tyrol; and

Menard, with 2000 men as a reserve, occupied the town of Brescia, with 1800 cavalry in the vicinity.

Determined to push forwards, Davidovich attacked Vaubois near Calliano, who was obliged to evacuate this village in the night, leaving six pieces of cannon. Upon the reception of this intelligence, Bonaparte hastened to Verona. Alvinzi had taken the same route. On the 11th of November Bonaparte marched to meet the Austrians. Augereau came up with their advanced guard within two leagues of Verona, and routed them. On the 12th, the two armies were in presence. Supported on the left by the village of Caldiero, and upon the right by Olivetto, the positions of the enemy's first line were highly advantageous, and, at the instant when it was presumed the intention of the French was to come to a general action, the Austrian corps at Villa Nuova had orders to begin its march. At day-break, Massena attacked the enemy's right, and Augereau, on the left, made himself master of Caldiero.

The progress of the Austrians had been stopped, but they had not retreated: it was necessary to vanquish them, but of this Bonaparte almost despaired.

But with Bonaparte discouragement was not despair; triumph often awaited him when he seemed to be upon the very brink of ruin. Alvinzi had approached Verona on the 15th of November, and flattered himself that he could carry the place by assault, although General Kilmaine had 1500 men there. Bonaparte, descending the Adige to Ronco, passed upon this point with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and took his route to Villa Nuova, with the view of seizing the enemy's baggage

and his parks of artillery, whom he meant to attack on the flanks and in the rear.

At ten o'clock on the 17th, the action became general. The Austrians lost 13,000 men in this battle, including 5000 prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

The loss of the French was less considerable in numbers than in the importance of those that fell during these three days. The great art of the general-in-chief on this occasion, having but 13,000 men to oppose to 40,000, was to maintain the combat in the midst of a morass, where the enemy could not deploy. On the third day of this battle, November 17th, the 75th having been broken, Bonaparte placed the 32d in an ambuscade, lying on their faces in a little wood of willows along the dike of Arcole. This demi-brigade rose, fired a volley, charged bayonets, and drove into the marsh 3000 Croats, who all perished there.

Las Cases, mentioning the bridge at Arcole, says, "Here Napoleon in person tried a last effort: he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and fixed it there. A cry is heard of 'Soldiers! forward to rescue the general!' These brave men instantly turn, and rush upon the enemy; they drive them *beyond the bridge*, and Napoleon is saved."

Napoleon acknowledged, whilst at St. Helena, "that he considered himself in the greatest danger at Arcole; his horse was shot under him; when rendered furious by the wound, the animal seized the bit between his teeth, and galloped on towards the enemy. In the agonies of death he plunged into a morass, and expired, leaving his rider nearly up to his neck in the swamp, and in a situation from

which, as he could not extricate himself, he thought the Austrians would have come and cut off his head, which appeared just above the surface."

After these three hard-fought days of Arcole, Bonaparte surprised "the sleeping sentinel." Napoleon, who offered up his own repose as a sacrifice for the more imperious calls of promptitude and glory, proceeded, alone, to visit the outskirts of the camp, and in this survey arrived at the spot where lay extended the sleeping sentinel, who could hardly be deemed guilty of a breach of duty, but the unwilling victim of extreme fatigue, that totally overpowered him. Bonaparte, unmindful of his dignity, and actuated only by noble motives, took up the soldier's musket, which laid beside him; when, placing it upon his own shoulder, he continued to mount guard for nearly an hour, in order to ensure the safety of the camp. The grenadier at length awoke, and sought for his piece in vain, but, by the light of the moon, perceived the general, who had thus paid respect to his repose.

"Oh! I am undone!" vociferated the soldier, recognising Napoleon, whose lineaments were graven upon the heart of every warrior.

"No, my friend," replied the general, with extreme affability, at the same time surrendering up his musket, "the battle was obstinate, and long enough contested, to excuse your having thus yielded to the impulse of fatigue; one moment of inattention, however, might endanger the safety of the camp: I was awake, and have only to advise, that you would be more upon your guard for the future!"

Among the officers who perished in the battle of Arcole, were Muiron and Elliot, whose names have been consecrated by Bonaparte to immortality.

Bonaparte wrote the following letter to his widow:—"Muiron died by my side at the battle of Arcole. You have lost a husband who was dear to you; and I have lost a friend to whom I have been long attached; but the country has lost more than either of us. If I can serve you or his infant in any manner, I hope you will reckon entirely upon me."

CHAPTER VI.

Battle of Rivoli—A Duel—Battle of La Favorite—Surrender of Mantua—A German Spy—Affairs of Rome—A Procession—Republic of San Marino—Obelisk in Honour of Virgil—The Archduke Charles—Passage of the Piave and the Tagliamento—Bernadotte—Treaty of Campo Formio—Bonaparte's Return to Paris—Anecdotes—Bonaparte at the Institute at Paris—Increasing Popularity—Jealousy of the Directory—Journey incog.—Rome seized, and the Republic re-established—Conduct of Bernadotte at Vienna—Unpopularity of the Directory—Anniversary of the Execution of Louis XVI.

The weakness of the army of Italy did not permit Bonaparte to draw all the advantages he promised himself from the victory of Arcole.

On the 7th of January, 1797, Alvinzi left Bassano, and took his route through the gorges of Brenta to Roveredo, where he joined his right wing, and descended into the valley of the Adige.

On the 14th, before day-light, the battle of Rivoli commenced. Alvinzi saved himself with difficulty. In two days the French had taken 13,000 men and nine pieces of cannon.

It is said that Bonaparte passed the night preceding the battle of Rivoli in a state of uncertainty and indecision; at length, on receiving fresh reports, he exclaimed, "*It is clear—it is clear: to Rivoli!*" All his orders were given *viva voce*, to save time.

In the affair of Anguari, a commander of the Austrian hussars insolently summoned Colonel Duvivier to surrender—"Come and take me," was the reply: the troops under both seemed to separate spontaneously, to give way to the combatants: two blows with the sabre brought the Austrian colonel

to the ground, and his overthrow was soon followed by that of his regiment.

Bonaparte, writing to the Directory, said, "In four days the army of the republic has been conquerors in two pitched battles and four combats. They have made 25,000 prisoners, among whom are a lieutenant-general, two generals, and from twelve to fifteen colonels. We have taken twenty standards, and killed and wounded at least 6000 of the enemy." The 75th, at the battle of La Favorite, refused cartridges; "With such enemies as we have before us," said they, "we must only use the bayonet."

Mantua, compelled by famine and disease, opened its gates on the 2d of February, 1797. The garrison had devoured 5000 horses, and there was only two days of such provisions in the place. Wurmser and his suite excepted, the garrison were made prisoners of war. Ammunition and cannon to an immense amount were found in the place, and, among the latter, those parks that Bonaparte had abandoned when he marched to Castiglione; thus realizing his prediction when he said to Berthier, pointing to this cannon and to that on the ramparts, "We shall soon retake all that are here, and take all that are there."

A German was taken, endeavouring to obtain an entrance. Suspected of being a spy, he was searched by the soldiers, who found nothing upon him, but menaced him in French, which he did not understand. At length a Frenchman, who spoke a little German, was brought, who threatened him with instant death if he did not immediately tell all he knew. He accompanied these threats with violent gestures, drew out his sword, pointed it at the bel-

ly of the German, and said he would rip him up. The poor terrified stranger, not perfectly understanding the broken German spoken by the French soldier, thought, when he saw him point his sword at his belly, that his secret was discovered, and cried out that there was no occasion to rip him up, for, if they waited a few hours, they would have it by the course of nature. Some were for giving him a purgative without delay. Two officers were appointed to take charge of him, and in two hours the wished-for article was found, rolled up in wax, about the size of a hazel-nut. When unrolled, this proved to be a letter from the Emperor Francis to General Wurmser.

On the day preceding the surrender, Bonaparte published a proclamation, reproaching the pope with subterfuge and perfidy; declaring the armistice at an end, and recalling the French ambassador from Rome.

When the French army were approaching Rome in this year, the papal government prepared to resist them, not by a *levy en masse*, but by a procession of sacred relics, viz. *Il santo Volto*, a miraculous portrait of the Saviour, and a *Santa Maria*, a portrait of the Virgin, both supposed to have been painted by supernatural agency: to these were added the *chains* which St. Peter wore in prison when the angel delivered him. This procession was attended by nearly the whole population of Rome, of all ranks, ages, and sexes, the greater part barefooted.

On Bonaparte's return from Tolentino, he presented the republic of St. Marino with four pieces of cannon, in the name of the French republic; exempted her citizens in the Romagna from all con-

tributions, and directed a supply of corn to be de livered to the inhabitants gratuitously.

He did not do himself less honour by the atten tion which he paid to the genius of Virgil. The surrounding fields, which, by the generosity of Au gustus, became the patrimony of the prince of poets, are still called the Virgilian fields. These Bonaparte ordered should be exempt from all contributions, and their cultivators indemnified for all the losses they had sustained by the war. An obelisk was erected to the memory of Virgil in the midst of a wood of oaks, myrtles and laurels, the inauguration of which was performed with all the pomp of a triumph.

The Archduke Charles had now taken the command of the Austrian army.

Bonaparte began to advance on the 10th of March: in order to leave Italy, he had a variety of obstacles to encounter, not less difficult than those that had opposed his entrance.

The army was soon in march towards the Piave, a deep and rapid river, which some of the divisions passed on the 13th of March, and drove the Austrians to Sacile, where they came up with their rear guard, from whom they made 100 prisoners. A soldier, carried away by the current, had nearly been drowned, but was saved by a female suttler. Bonaparte presented this courageous woman with a golden necklace, to which a civic crown was suspended, with the name of the soldier that had been saved.

On the 16th of March, all the divisions were collected at Valvasone. The archduke's army was intrenched on the other side of the Tagliamento. In the passage of this river, Bonaparte himself was so

nearly drowned by the submersion of his carriage, that for some moments he gave up all thoughts of life.

The affair of Gradisca was the first in which the division of Bernadotte had borne a part.

He arrived upon the borders of the Tagliamento just at the moment of fighting. Throwing himself into the river, "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "think that you are the army of the Rhine, and that the army of Italy is looking on you." Bernadotte was then a citizen and a soldier, raised by his merit to the first rank in the army. On the 21st of March, the French entered Goritz.

Since the opening of this campaign, Prince Charles had lost nearly 20,000 men made prisoners, and the Austrians could now make no stand, except in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna. A letter written by Bonaparte to the Archduke Charles, proposing peace, had been answered by that prince's assuring him that he was not invested, on the part of the emperor, with any powers for treating. Two hours after the receipt of this letter, and while the French troops were on their march to Freisach, the archduke requested a suspension of arms for four hours; a proposition entirely inadmissible, as it was obviously made to gain the whole day.

The definitive treaty of Campo Formio was signed on the 17th of October following. Thus the sword, which had been first drawn in the month of May, 1792, and which for six successive years had desolated continental Europe, was partially, but by no means permanently, restored to the scabbard.

Bonaparte returned to Paris on the 20th of November, 1797, where he was hailed with the most rapturous applause by the people.

Napoleon, according to Las Cases, declared that he returned from the campaign of Italy, in 1797, with no more than 300,000 francs in his possession, though he might easily have brought ten or twelve millions. He expected, after his arrival in France, to have received some great national reward.

Just before Napoleon left the army of Italy, Madame Bonaparte furnished a small house in the Rue Chantereine, which the Directory ordered to be called the Rue de la Victoire. Here, it is said, he was much surprised and mortified, to find that the drawing-room furniture, which appeared to be nothing uncommon, was charged at the enormous rate of between 120 and 130 francs. But when he came to see the upholsterer's directions, and found that every article was to be of the very best kind, made after new designs invented expressly for the house, he felt himself bound to pay the bill. The disposition for inquiring into the price of articles, was indulged by Bonaparte even at the period of his greatest prosperity. On one occasion, when he returned to the Tuilleries, which had been magnificently fitted up during his absence, he walked up to a window overhung with a rich curtain, and, asking some of the attendants for a pair of scissors, he cut off a superb gold acorn, which was suspended from the drapery, and, coolly putting it into his pocket, he continued his inspection of the furniture, to the astonishment of all present, who were not a little puzzled to find out his motives. Some days afterwards, at his levee, he drew the acorn from his pocket, and gave it to the person who superintended the furnishing of the palace. "Here," said he "Heaven forbid that I should think you rob me; but some one has doubtless robbed you—you have paid

for this at the rate of one third above its value. They have dealt with you as though you had been the steward of a great nobleman. You would have made a better bargain if you had not been known." Napoleon, it seems, had walked out one morning in disguise, and visited some of the shops in the Rue St. Denis, where he asked the price of ornaments similar to that which he had cut from the curtain.

Soon after Bonaparte's return from the army of Italy, he took his place in the Institute at Paris, and considered himself as the tenth member in his class, which consisted of about fifty. A circumstance which attracted considerable notice at the time, was, to see the young general of the army of Italy publicly discussing profound metaphysical subjects with his colleagues in the Institute. He was then called the geometrician of battles, and the mechanician of victory.

People flocked to the sittings of the Institute to see the general, who never failed to be present. When he went to the theatre he was always in a private box.

The troops returning to France made him the subject of their songs, in which they raised him to the skies. These verses expressed a wish that the lawyers should be turned out, and the general made king. Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that jealousy should exist on the part of the Directory.

The Directory had at first the intention of sending him to Rastadt, to relieve them from the responsibility of the congress then sitting there; but the general refused this mission, urging that it was not fit that the same hand should direct the pen and the sword. Afterwards the Directory appoint-

ed him commander of the army of England, which served to conceal from the eyes of the enemy the plan and preparations for the expedition to Egypt.

The troops composing this army of England covered Normandy, Picardy, and Belgium. Bonaparte travelled through, and inspected the whole of them *incognito*. He every where found himself the object of every conversation, and of general expectation. At Antwerp, he first conceived the great maritime ideas which he afterwards put in execution there, and formed that of the new canal at St. Quentin.

About this time, the miserable court of Rome, provoked rather than corrected by the treaty of Tolentino, quarrelled with the Cisalpine republic. Duphot, a French general, who happened to be in Rome as a traveller, was murdered at the door of Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador, who thought it prudent to retire to Florence.

Napoleon, being consulted, said it was necessary to chastise Rome, but not destroy it: not being listened to, an army was sent to seize Rome, and establish the Roman republic. The executive power was vested in three consuls; a senate and a tribunate composed the legislative. Fourteen cardinals attended at the church of St. Peter, and even sang a *Te Deum* in commemoration of this event, which was nothing less than the abolition of the temporal authority of the pope.

Bernadotte, some time before this, having been very imprudently sent ambassador to Vienna, one day most unaccountably caused the tri-coloured flag to be hoisted on his house in that city: but this of course was torn down, and himself insulted by the populace.

At this time, so unpopular were the Directory, that Bonaparte had been solicited by a party composed of deputies possessing influence in the two councils, patriots of Fructidor, who sought a protector general, the most powerful and most enlightened, to stir and put himself at the head of the republic; but he refused, because he felt he was not strong enough to go alone.

The 21st of January, 1798, was the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. Bonaparte was solicited to appear at this ceremony. He went to the church of St. Sulpice, merely as a member of the Institute, but was discovered, after which all eyes were fixed exclusively on him. When the festival was over, the Directory were allowed to go out quite alone; the multitude remained, and made the sky resound with "Long live the general of the army of Italy!"

On the eve of Napoleon's departure for Egypt, he became possessed of Malmaison, and there he deposited nearly all his property: he purchased it in the name of his wife, who was older than himself, and consequently, in case of his surviving her, he must have forfeited all claim to it. The fact is, as he himself has said, that he never had a taste nor desire for riches.

CHAPTER VII.

Expedition to Egypt—Proclamation—Alexandria taken—Battle of the Pyramids—Cairo surrenders—Naval Battle at Aboukir—Anecdote—Excursion to Suez and the Red Sea—Siege of St. Jean d'Acre—Sir Sidney Smith—Caffarelli—The Angel El-Mahdy—Shooting of the Turkish Prisoners—Plague at Jaffa—Anecdotes—Bonaparte's Departure from Egypt, and Arrival in France—Plans for making Discoveries in Africa, and for constructing Canals in Egypt.

THE Directory now carried into effect the most fatal of all their projects, that of sending a powerful army to the East, to seize upon Egypt, and thence to attack the British empire in India.

The projected invasion of Egypt was conducted with much secrecy, while the world was amused with tales of *monstrous rafts* constructed to convey the *army of England* over to Britain.

Napoleon arrived at Toulon on the 10th of May, 1798. Previous to his sailing, he addressed a proclamation to his army.

When all was in readiness, Bonaparte, on the 20th of May, embarked with 40,000 veterans, mostly from the army of Italy, without reckoning artists, savans, and others. When in sight of the island of Gazzo, they were joined by a convoy from Civita Vecchia. The first operation was the taking of Malta, which surrendered to them on the 12th of June.

In the evening of the 30th, the fleet arrived within a few leagues of Alexandria: Bonaparte issued a proclamation, dated from the ship l'Orient, wherein he recommended the strictest discipline, a respect for personal property, and for the religion of the country they were about to land in. The following is an extract from this proclamation:

"The people whom we are going amongst are Mahometans; the first article of their faith runs thus—*There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.* Do not contradict them; act with them as we have done with the Jews, and with the Italians; pay respect to their muftis and their imans, the same as you have to rabbies and bishops; show the same tolerance for their mosques, and all the ceremonies prescribed by their Alcoran, as you have already shown for convents and synagogues, for the religion of Moses, and for that of Jesus Christ."

At length, the French disembarked at Alexandria, which they attacked, and which capitulated, after a dreadful carnage; the inhabitants, however, were respected by their conquerors, their commander concluded a treaty with the Arabs, and, so far from opposing their religious customs, he spoke of Mahomet as an extraordinary personage, who was worthy of the homage of all nations. In his first proclamation to the Alexandrians there is found this remarkable passage:

"Cadies, Cheicks, Imans, Tehorbajas, tell your people that we are the true Mussulmans. Was it not we that overthrew the power of the pope?"

From Alexandria the army took the road to Cairo, and defeated the Arabs and Mamelukes, who had gathered together to dispute with them the passage to Rhamania and Chabrane.

In the morning of the 10th July, the army came in sight of the Pyramids, and at night they were within six leagues of Cairo. They found twenty-three beys intrenched with all their force at Embabe; Bonaparte caused them to be attacked in their intrenchments, by General Dessaix and Ram-

pon; and, notwithstanding their fine appearance and some *sorties*, victory declared in favour of the French. Almost all the Mamelukes were slain; two thousand cavalry, and the greater number of the beys, fell on this day: their leader, Murad Bey, was wounded in the cheek. More than fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred loaded camels, became the spoil of the conquerors.

This brilliant victory was followed by the surrender of Cairo, on the 22d of July.

On the 1st of August, 1798, the battle of Aboukir, so fatal to the French navy, took place.

Ibrahim Bey fled towards Syria, where Bonaparte resolved to pursue him with vigour.

Being accompanied by many officers of his staff and others, he visited the grand pyramid of Cheops, attended by many muftis and imans. It was on this occasion, that, beholding the aspect of these imperishable masses, he cried out "From the top of these pyramids, forty ages behold us!"

On the 26th of December, 1798, Bonaparte arrived at Suez; the following day was spent in viewing the town and coast, and ordering such works and fortifications as he deemed necessary for their defence. On the 28th of December, he passed the Red Sea at a ford near Suez, which is practicable at low water, and proceeded to the fountains of Moses, about three leagues and a half from Suez, in Asia. He returned the same evening to Suez, but, it being high water, he was obliged to ascend to the extremity of the Red Sea. This route was the more tedious, from the guide having lost his way in the marshes, where they were sometimes up to the middle in water. Thus, like a second Pharaoh, he narrowly escaped drowning. "This," said

he, "would have furnished all the preachers of Christianity with a splendid text against me." On reaching the Arabian coast, he received a deputation of the Cenobite monks of Mount Sinai, who came to implore his protection, and to request him to inscribe his name on the ancient register of their charters, with which he complied.

Having quitted Suez on the 30th December, 1798, he proceeded in a northerly direction, and discovered, at the distance of two leagues and a half, some vestiges of the entrance of the canal of Suez. He rested at the fort of Adjeroud on the following day, at the distance of ten leagues in the desert, and on the 1st of January, 1799, he arrived at Belbeis; on the 3d, he advanced to the Oasis of Mount Horeb, where he discovered further remains of the canal of Suez; this was near its entrance into the irrigated and fruitful lands of Egypt. He traced the course of the canal for the space of several leagues, and ascertained that some extraordinary change has altered the level of the Mediterranean, since that is twenty-four feet lower than the Red Sea.

About the 17th of March, 1799, Napoleon, after having defeated the Mamelukes, and taken possession of Alexandria and Cairo, led a detachment of 12,000 men into Palestine, with the intention, it has been said, of taking possession of Jerusalem, and restoring the Jews. Acre is a small town on the sea-coast, thirty-seven miles north of Jerusalem. To this town, which was wretchedly fortified, and garrisoned only by a few Turks, he laid siege in form, and the governor would have surrendered at discretion, had he not been assisted by Sir Sidney Smith, and several ships of war, to make a vigorous

resistance. By the persevering valour of the British, and the brute force of their semi-barbarous allies, Bonaparte was detained before Acre sixty-nine days. Foiled in eleven different attempts to carry the place by assault, and losing upon an average sixty men a day, he was ultimately obliged to retreat.

At this siege a shell, thrown by Sir Sidney Smith, fell close at Bonaparte's feet. Two soldiers, who were near him, seized and closely embraced him before and behind, making a rampart of their bodies against the effects of the shell, which exploded, and overwhelmed them all with sand. Neither of these soldiers were wounded.

Napoleon travelled on a dromedary the greater part of the way through the desert to Syria. The dromedary regiments, formed by the general, were very destructive to the Arabs; but, though he is not a beast of draught, but only of burden, the French in Syria were skilful enough to yoke him to their field-pieces.

After experiencing fatigues almost incredible, he gave orders for the departure of the army, and the 15th of June they arrived at Cairo.

Sir Sidney Smith dispersed proclamations among the French troops, which certainly shook the faith of some of them; and Bonaparte in consequence published an order, stating that he was *mad*.

At St. Jean d'Acre the general-in-chief lost Caffarelli, of whom he was extremely fond. Caffarelli, who entertained a kind of reverential respect for Napoleon, was delirious several days before his death; yet, when the latter visited him, the announcement of his name seemed to recall him to life; he became more collected, his spirits revived,

and he conversed coherently; but always relapsed into his former state when Napoleon left him.

About this time a scene of a new kind took place, and which occasioned a revolt in the province of Bakhyreh. A man, who came from the interior of Africa, landed at Deruch, and when he arrived he assembled the Arabs together, telling them he was the angel El-Mahdy, spoken of in the Koran by the prophets. Two hundred Meyhrebyns arrived some days after, as if by chance, and ranged themselves under his command. It had been prophesied that the angel El-Mahdy was to come down from heaven, and this impostor pretended that he descended in the midst of the desert. Though he appeared naked and destitute, he distributed gold in abundance, which he had the art of concealing. The sole nourishment he seemed to take, was from dipping his fingers every morning into a bowl of milk, and then putting them to his lips: he went to Damenhour, surprised sixty men belonging to the Nautical Legion, that had been imprudently left there, instead of being placed in the redoubt of Rhamania, and strangled them all: encouraged by this success, he heated the imagination of his disciples, and he boasted that, by throwing a little dust on our guns, he could prevent the powder from taking fire, and cause the shot to fall harmless before the true believers. A hundred such miracles were attested by his followers to have been performed by him every day.

The angel El-Mahdy, wounded in several places, felt his zeal much abated; he hid himself in the wilderness, where he was yet surrounded by many of his disciples, for the heads of fanatics are generally bereft of the organs of reason.

As to the charge of shooting three or four thousand Turks some days after the taking of Jaffa, Napoleon said there were not so many; they did not amount to more than 1000 or 1200. The reason was, that, amongst the garrison of Jaffa, a number of Turkish troops were discovered, taken a short time before at El Arish, and sent to Bagdat upon their parole not to serve again; but these Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, threw themselves into Jaffa. However, before Bonaparte attacked Jaffa, he sent an officer bearing a flag of truce, whose head immediately afterwards they saw elevated on a pole over the wall. Now, if spared again, he inferred the same Turks would have gone to St. Jean d'Acre, and played the same part over again: therefore, in justice to the lives of his soldiers, he could not act otherwise than as he did: he therefore availed himself of the rights of war.

Previous to leaving Jaffa, seven or eight men were found so dangerously ill, as not to admit the possibility of their recovery; they had the plague, and might spread the infection. Some of them, perceiving that they were to be abandoned, earnestly entreated to be put to death. Baron Larrey, the chief surgeon, who knew they could not survive many hours, thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires. Desgenettes did not approve of this, saying his profession was to cure the sick, not to despatch them. At length, according to Larrey's suggestion, a rear guard of four or five hundred cavalry were ordered to remain behind, to prevent these unfortunate men from being tortured by the Turks. The story of poisoning is supposed to have originated in something said by Desgenettes, afterwards misconceived or incor-

rectly reported. "Do you think," said Napoleon to Mr. O'Meara, "that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers, or of such barbarity as drawing my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without parallel. No, no; I never should have fought a second time. Even some of the wounded, with strength enough left to pull a trigger, would have despatched me."

Napoleon became so popular among some of the Egyptians, that they gave him the name of Sultan Keber (Father of the Fire.) He always shared the fatigues of the army; and their privations were sometimes so great, that they were compelled to contend with each other for the smallest comforts. Once, in the desert, the soldiers would scarcely allow the general to dip his hands in a muddy stream of water. Passing the ruins of Pelusium, almost suffocated with the heat, a soldier gave up to him a fragment of an ancient door-way, beneath which he contrived to shade his head for a few minutes; "and this," said Napoleon, "was no trifling favour."

The discontent of the French troops in Egypt, which was at times very high, was happily spent in jokes and sarcasms. General Caffarelli, supposed to have been one of the promoters of the expedition, was by no means liked. He had a wooden leg, having lost the other on the banks of the Rhine. Whenever the soldiers saw him hobbling along, they would say, loud enough for him to hear, "That fellow cares for nothing amongst us: he is certain, happen what may, to have one leg in France."

In reference to the six or seven acres of land that Bonaparte had promised his troops on his de-

parture from France, when they afterwards found themselves in the midst of the desert, surrounded by the boundless ocean of sand, they pretended to cheer one another with a view of it; they said their general "had been very moderate in promising so little; he might have made us a more unlimited offer; we should not abuse his good nature." On their first entering the desert, they called to one another to look at the six acres awarded to each of them by the government.

But though the devotedness and attachment of the army of Egypt had evidently performed so much for their general-in-chief, we have his own authority for asserting, that no army was less fit for that quarter of the world. It would be difficult to describe the disgust, the discontent, the melancholy, the despair of that army, on its first arrival in Egypt. Bonaparte saw two dragoons rush out of the ranks, and throw themselves into the Nile. Bertrand had seen the most distinguished generals, such as Lannes and Murat, in momentary fits of rage, throw their laced hats in the sand, and trample on them. "This army," said Napoleon, "had been satiated with wealth, rank, pleasure, and consideration; they were not fit for the deserts and fatigues of Egypt." More than one conspiracy was formed to carry away the flags from Alexandria, and other things of the same sort. The influence, the character, and the glory of the general, could alone restrain the troops. One day, Napoleon, losing his temper in his turn, rushed among a group of discontented generals, and, addressing himself to the tallest, said, "You have held mutinous language; take care that I don't fulfil my duty; your five foot ten should not save you from being shot in a couple of hours"

Las Cases says, the French force, at its landing in Egypt, amounted to 30,000 men: it was augmented by the wrecks of the naval battle of the Nile, and some partial arrivals from France, and yet the total loss of the army amounted only to eight thousand nine hundred and fifteen; viz.—

Killed in battle - - -	3614
Died of their wounds - -	854
Died through various accidents	290
Died from common disorders -	2468
Died from the pestilential fever	1689
Total -	8915

The address and the justice of Napoleon, considered as a conqueror, had wonderfully attached the Mahometans in Egypt to his interest. In a letter written to him by the sherif of Mecca, he is styled, "The protector of the holy Kaaba."

On the 22d of August, 1799, he received a letter from Admiral Gantheaume, informing him that the English and Turkish fleets had sailed. A journey into the Delta was immediately spoken of at headquarters. Bonaparte would be absent, it was said, only a few days; his object being to visit that fertile part of Egypt, and promote the establishment of canals, which had been so long neglected.

In writing to the Divan, and announcing his departure, he said, "remind the Mussulmen frequently of my love for them. Acquaint them that I have two great means to conduct men—persuasion and force; with the one I gain friends, and with the other I destroy my enemies." Upon General Kleber he conferred the command of the army. On the 23d of August, 1799, accompanied by the Generals Berthier, Murat, Lannes, and Marmont, he

embarked on board the frigates La Muiron and La Carere, leaving the following proclamation behind him:

"Soldiers! The affairs of Europe recall me to France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber. The army shall soon have intelligence of me. It is painful to leave soldiers to whom I am so much attached; but it shall not be for long. The general, whom I have left with them, possesses both my confidence and that of government."

When Bonaparte embarked, an English cutter was in sight of the two frigates; the officers who accompanied him drew the most dismal presages from this circumstance, and said it would be difficult to escape the vigilance of the enemy.—"True!" exclaimed Bonaparte; "but we shall arrive—Fortune has never abandoned us; we shall arrive in spite of the English." They set sail in the night, and Gantheaume, perfect master of his manœuvres, ranged along the coast of Africa, choosing a longer, but more certain route of navigation.

On the 30th of September, 1799, the two frigates entered the Gulf of Ajaccio. Whilst lying to for a boat they had sent in, a sudden squall obliged them to come to anchor in the gulf, in the native country of Bonaparte. He was thought to have been dead; and when chance thus brought him home, nothing could be more touching than the reception he experienced: the batteries saluted on all sides; the whole population rushed to the boats, and surrounded the French frigates; the public enthusiasm had even triumphed over the fear of infection, and the vessels were immediately boarded by crowds, crying out to Bonaparte, "It is we that have the plague, and must owe our deliverance to

you." Here Bonaparte learned, that the fruits of all his triumphant victories in Italy had been lost in two battles; that the Russians were upon the French frontiers, and that confusion and dismay reigned in the interior.

On the 8th of October, being in sight of the coast of France, they perceived an English fleet of from eight to ten sail. Admiral Gantheaume was desirous to tack about immediately, and return to Corsica.—"No, no," said Bonaparte, "that manœuvre would conduct us to England; and my will is to arrive in France. On the 9th of October, 1799, Bonaparte disembarked near Frejus, in the south of France, after a surprising voyage of forty-one days, and upon a sea covered with the enemy's ships. Here he landed without having performed the customary duty of quarantine, and arrived at Paris on the 16th of October. Nothing could have been more unexpected than this arrival. From the first moment it occurred, the news of it spread with the rapidity of lightning. Scarcely had the flag of a commander-in-chief been displayed, when the shore about Frejus was covered with people, who, in accents of the most intense desire, exclaimed, "Bonaparte!" France herself poured forth her thousands before him who was destined to restore her splendour, and already, from her frontiers, anticipated from him the revenge of Marengo.

Bonaparte, whilst in Egypt, it seems, had received presents from the queen of Darfour, and had sent her some in return. Had he remained longer, he said he would certainly have carried our geographical investigations into the northern district of Africa to a great extent, and that by the simplest means, merely by placing in each caravan some in-

telligent officers, for whom he would have procured hostages.

He had several plans in contemplation, for making canals in Egypt. He intended to have made two; one from the Red Sea to the Nile at Cairo, and the other to the Mediterranean. He had the Red Sea surveyed, and found that its waters were thirty feet higher than the Mediterranean when they were highest, but only twenty-four at the lowest. His plan was, to have prevented any water from flowing into the canal, unless at low water, and this, in the course of a distance of thirty leagues, in its passage to the Mediterranean, would have been of little consequence. Besides, he would have had some sluices made. The Nile was seven feet lower than the Red Sea when at its lowest, but fourteen feet higher during the inundation. The expense was calculated at eighteen millions of francs, and two years' labour.

CHAPTER VIII.

Consequences of Napoleon's Absence in Egypt—Weakness and Division in the Government—Napoleon's Superiority in the Cabinet—Appointed to the Command of the Troops charged with restoring the Tranquillity of Paris—Presents himself to the Council of Ancients—The Dispersion and Resignation of the Directory—The Council of Five Hundred adjourn to St. Cloud—A Storm in the Council of Ancients—Entrance and Speech of Napoleon—Condemnation of the Constitution of the Year III—Violent Proceedings in the Council of Five Hundred—Lucien Bonaparte in personal Danger—Rescued by Napoleon and his Grenadiers—Speech of Lucien—The Dispersion of the Council of Five Hundred—Formation of the new Government and Constitution.

During Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, it is well known how much France missed his military genius, and with what rapturous acclamations he was hailed on his return. No one who recollected the sensation produced by his sudden appearance at Frejus, like a spirit welcomed from another world, could be surprised at the celebrity and triumph of his subsequent career on his return from Elba. His resumption of power at the former period was, taking it altogether, the more wonderful of the two. He was then still a young man. France, no doubt, was in want of a stronger and regenerated government; but still, to establish this, it required unparalleled boldness, and a popularity among a nation of thirty millions, which not more than two or three individuals have ever obtained in the whole history of the world. Though France was divided by factions, yet she had still men of pre-eminent abilities. There was Rœderer, eloquent and trusted for pat-

riotism; there were Barras and Fouché, who had each great influence. There were, besides, a host of formidable politicians: Talleyrand, who alone had sagacity to have guided a kingdom in ordinary circumstances: there were Moreau, Bernadotte, Augereau, and others of high military name; and Sieyes, the cunning and reserved, whose talents were so esteemed by Mirabeau, that, in a debate on a great object, he once declared the silence of Sieyes to be a national calamity. It is quite obvious, however, that all these men, who in other circumstances would have been primary combatants for supreme power, dimmed their ineffectual ray, and bowed their heads to the influence of Bonaparte, from the moment it was supposed that a change in the government was to be expected. He met with them separately; he heard their proposals; he committed himself to none of them. If he could be said to join any thing like a party, it was that of Sieyes; but, until the moment that he was ready to strike the blow of usurpation, he kept them all in suspense. Having matured his plans, he called them together on the 18th of Brumaire, 9th and 10th of November, 1799, and produced one of the most important revolutions recorded in history. His influence over those around him seemed equally electric and irresistible, whether it put in motion the metaphysics of Sieyes or the drumsticks that beat the charge on the Council of Five Hundred.

In fact, many weighty motives existed for effecting a change at this critical period, which might have operated upon the mind of Bonaparte, or any other chief who had the good of his country at heart. He found its government enfeebled to the utmost impotence of childhood, the prey of perpetu-

al caprice and revolutions. He found it without an army, and without the resources for procuring one He found all public spirit evaporated, and the people in a state of civil war with each other. But, what was most wounding to the becoming pride of a warrior, he found all the conquests he had gained in Europe nearly wrested from his country, and subject to the severe requisitions of those armies he had discomfited.

Let us now mark the reverse: by a blow equally illegal, but equally necessary, he boldly put himself in possession of the supreme power, and in six months he new modelled the constitution, revived the national credit, re-animated the public spirit, and from every quarter concentrated the abilities of every man of talent and courage; subdued every civil insurrection, and in six weeks, by gaining the battle of Marengo, re-conquered all that had been lost. Never was a campaign so well planned and so completely executed.

But that man must know the character of Napoleon very imperfectly, who may consider him only at the head of armies; for so superior and universal was his genius, that he was able to acquit himself of the various functions of government with glory. He shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field. In a word, he united in his own person the various talents and professions of the sword, the gown, and the finances.

The Council of Ancients, having transferred the sittings of the legislative body to St. Cloud, ordered them to assemble there on the 19th of Brumaire. General Bonaparte, who, they imagined, was wholly in their interest, was charged with the execution of

the decree for the safety of the national representation.

This decree was made at eight o'clock; and at half-past eight, the state messenger who was the bearer of it arrived at the house of Napoleon. He found the avenues filled with the officers of the garrison, adjutants of the National Guard, generals, and the three regiments of cavalry. Napoleon had the folding doors opened; and his house being too small to contain so many persons, he came forward on the steps in front of it, received the compliments of the officers, harangued them, and told them that he relied upon them all for the salvation of France. At the same time he gave them to understand, that the Council of Ancients, under the authority of the constitution, had just conferred on him the command of all the troops; that important measures were in agitation, designed to rescue the country from its alarming situation; that he relied upon their support and good will; and that he was at that moment going to mount his horse to ride to the Tuilleries.

Enthusiasm being wound up, all the officers drew their swords, and promised their service and fidelity. Napoleon then turned towards Lefevre, demanding whether he would remain with him or return to the Directory. Lefevre, powerfully affected, did not hesitate. Napoleon instantly mounted, and placed himself at the head of the generals and officers, and 1500 horse, whom he halted upon the Boulevard, at the corner of the street of Mont Blanc. He gave orders to the adjutants of the National Guard to return to their quarters and beat the *generale*, to communicate the decree they had just heard, and to

announce, that no orders were to be observed but such as should emanate from him.

Napoleon presented himself at the bar of the Council of Ancients, attended by this brilliant escort. "You are the wisdom of the nation," said he; "at this crisis it belongs to you to point out the measures which may save the country: I come, surrounded by all the generals, to promise you their support. I appoint General Levefre my lieutenant: I will faithfully fulfil the task with which you have intrusted me: let us not look into the past for examples of what is now going on. Nothing in history resembles the end of the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth century resembles the present moment."

All the troops were mustered at the Tuilleries: Napoleon reviewed them, amidst the unanimous acclamations of both citizens and soldiers. He gave the command of the troops intrusted with the protection of the legislative body to General Lannes; and to General Murat the command of those sent to St. Cloud.

He deputed General Moreau to guard the Luxembourg; and, for this purpose, he placed under his orders 500 men of the 86th regiment. But, at the moment of setting off, these troops refused to obey: they had no confidence in Moreau, who was not, they said, a patriot. Napoleon was obliged to harangue them, assuring them that Moreau would act uprightly. Moreau had become suspected through his conduct at a former period.

The intelligence that Napoleon was at the Tuilleries, and that he alone was to be obeyed, quickly spread through the capital: the people flew to the Tuilleries in crowds; some led by mere curiosity

to behold so renowned a general, others by patriotic enthusiasm to offer him their support. The following proclamation was every where posted:

"Citizens! The Council of Ancients, the depository of the national wisdom, has just pronounced a decree: for this it has authority from articles 102 and 103 of the act of the constitution: it imposes upon me the duty of taking measures for the safety of the national representation. The immediate removal of the representation is necessary; the legislative body will then find itself in a condition to rescue the republic from the danger into which the disorganization of all branches of the administration is conducting us. At this important crisis it requires union and confidence. Rally round it: there is no other method of fixing the republic upon the basis of civil liberty, internal happiness, victory, and peace."

Napoleon now sent an aid-de-camp to the guards of the Directory, for the purpose of communicating the decree to them, and enjoining them to receive no order but from him. The guard sounded to horse, the commanding officer consulted his soldiers: they answered by shouts of joy. At this very moment, an order from the Directory, contrary to that of Napoleon, arrived; but the soldiers, obeying only Napoleon's commands, marched to join him. Sieyes and Roger Ducos had been ever since the morning at the Tuilleries. It is said that Barras, on seeing Sieyes mount his horse, ridiculed the awkwardness of the unpractised equestrian: he little suspected where they were going. Being shortly after apprized of the decree, he joined Gohier and Moulins: they then learned that the troops followed Napoleon: they saw that even their own guard forsook

them! Upon that Moulins went to the Tuilleries, and gave in his resignation, as Sieyes and Roger Ducos had already done. Boutot, the secretary of Barras, went to Napoleon, who warmly expressed his indignation at the peculations which had ruined the republic, and insisted that Barras should resign. Boutot gave him Barras's resignation, and asked him, in a low voice, what hope he might entertain from him. "Tell that man," replied Bonaparte, "that I will not see him again, and that I am well enabled to command due respect to the authority intrusted to me." Then, raising his voice loud enough to be heard even into the anti-chamber, he continued thus to address Boutot, the astonished secretary to Barras: "What have you done," said he, "with the country I left so flourishing? I left you in peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conquest, and the enemy are passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the 100,000 heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas! they are no more. This state of things cannot continue; in three years it will end in despotism; but we will have a republic founded on the basis of civil liberty, equality, and political toleration."

Talleyrand then hastened to the ex-director, and related this. Barras removed to Gros-Bois, accompanied by a guard of honour of dragoons. From that moment the Directory was dissolved, and Napoleon alone was invested with the executive power of the republic.

In the mean time, the Council of Five Hundred had met, under the presidency of Lucien. The

constitution was explicit; the decree of the Council of Ancients was consistent with its privilege; there was no ground for objection. The Members of the council, in passing through the streets of Paris, and through the Tuilleries, had learnt the occurrences which were taking place, and witnessed the enthusiasm of the public. They were astonished and confounded at the ferment around them. They submitted to necessity, and adjourned their sittings to the next day, the 19th, at St. Cloud.

At length, after nearly two days' delay, they met, and opened their sittings. M. Gaudine ascended the tribune, painted in lively colours the dangers of the country, and proposed thanks to the Council of Ancients, for the measures of public safety they had set on foot; and that they should be invited, by message, to explain their intentions fully. At the same time, he proposed to appoint a committee of seven persons to make a report upon the state of the republic.

The furious rushing forth of the winds enclosed in the caverns of Eolus, never raised a more raging storm. The speaker was violently hurled to the bottom of the tribune. The ferment became excessive.

Delbred desired that the members should swear anew to the constitution of the year III. Chenier, Lucien, Boulay, trembled. The chamber proceeded to the *appel nominal.*

During the *appel nominal*, which lasted more than two hours, reports of what was passing were circulated through the capital. The leaders of the assembly, *du manège*, the *tricoteuses*, &c. hastened up. Jourdan and Augereau had kept out of the way; believing Napoleon lost, they made all haste

to St. Cloud. Augereau drew near to Napoleon, and said, "Well, here you are in a pretty situation!"—"Augereau," replied Napoleon, "remember Arcole: matters appeared much more desperate there. Take my advice, and remain quiet, if you would not fall a victim to this confusion. In half an hour you will see what turn affairs will have taken."

The assembly appeared to declare itself with so much unanimity, that no deputy durst refuse to swear to the constitution: even Lucien himself was compelled to swear. Shouts and cries of "Bravo!" were heard throughout the chamber. The moment was critical. Many members, on taking the oath, added observations. All minds were in a state of suspense; the zealous became neuter; the timid deserted their post. Not an instant was to be lost. Napoleon crossed the saloon of Mars, entered the Council of Ancients, and placed himself at the bar opposite to the president. "You stand," said he, "upon a volcano; the republic no longer possesses a government; the Directory is dissolved; faction is at work; the hour of decision is come. You have called in my arm, and the arms of my comrades, to the support of your wisdom: but the moments are precious; it is necessary to take an ostensible part. I know that Cæsar and Cromwell are talked of, as if this day could be compared with past times. No; I desire nothing but the safety of the republic, and to maintain the resolutions to which you are about to come. And you, grenadiers, whose caps I perceive at the door of this hall—speak! Have I ever deceived you? Did I ever forfeit my word when, in camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty; and

when, at your head, I led you from conquest to conquest? Now say, was it for my own aggrandizement, or for the interest of the republic!"

The grenadiers were electrified; and, waving their caps and arms in the air, they all seemed to say, "Yes, true, true; he always kept his word?"

Upon this a member (Linglet) rose, and said with a loud voice, "General, we applaud what you say; swear then, with us, obedience to the constitution of the year III, which alone can save the republic."

The astonishment caused by these words produced a profound silence.

Napoleon recollected himself for a moment; and then went on again emphatically: "The constitution of the year III!—you have it no longer; you violated it on the eighteenth of Fructidor, when the government infringed on the independence of the legislative body; you violated it on the thirteenth of Prairial, in the year VII, when the legislative body struck at the independence of the government; you violated it on the twenty-second of Floreal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and the legislative body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections made by them. The constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

The force of this speech, and the energy of the general, brought over three fourths of the members of the council, who rose to indicate their approbation. Cornudet and Regnier spoke powerfully to the same effect. A member rose in opposition; he denounced the general, as the only conspirator against public liberty. Napoleon interrupted the orator, and declared that he was in the

secret of every party, and that all despised the constitution of the year III; that the only difference existing between them was, that some desired to have a moderate republic, in which all the national interests, and all the property should be guarantied; while, on the other hand, the others wished for a revolutionary government, as warranted by the dangers of the country. At this moment Napoleon was informed that the *appel nominal* was terminated in the Council of Five Hundred, and that they were endeavouring to force the president Lucien to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Napoleon immediately hastened to the council, entered the chamber with his hat off, and ordered the officers and soldiers who accompanied him to remain at the doors: he was desirous to present himself at the bar, to rally his party, which was numerous, but which had lost all unity and resolution. But, to get to the bar, it was necessary to cross half the chamber, because the president had his seat on one of the wings. As Napoleon advanced, two or three hundred members suddenly rose, crying, "Death to the tyrant! Down with the dictator!"

Two grenadiers, who, by the order of the general, had remained at the door, and who had reluctantly obeyed, saying to him, "You do not know them; they are capable of any thing!" rushed in, sabre in hand, overthrowing all that opposed their passage, to join their general, and cover him with their bodies. All the other grenadiers followed this example, and forced Napoleon out of the chamber. In the confusion, one of them, named Thomé, was slightly wounded by the thrust of a dagger; and the clothes of another were cut through.

The general descended into the court-yard, called the troops into a circle by beat of drum, got on horseback, and harangued them: "I was about," said he, "to point out to them the means of saving the republic, and restoring our glory; they answered me with their daggers. It was thus they would have accomplished the wishes of the allied kings. What more could England have done? Soldiers, may I rely upon you?"

Unanimous acclamations formed the reply to this speech. Napoleon instantly ordered a captain to go with ten men into the chamber of the Five Hundred, and to liberate the president.

Lucien had just thrown off his robe. "Wretches," exclaimed he, "you insist that I should put out of the protection of the laws my brother, the saviour of the country, him whose very name causes kings to tremble! I lay aside the insignia of the popular magistracy: I offer myself in the tribune as the defender of him, whom you command me to immolate unheard."

Thus saying, he quitted the chair, and darted into the tribune. The officer of grenadiers then presented himself at the door of the chamber, exclaiming, "*Vive la Republique!*" It was supposed that the troops were sending a deputation to express their devotion to the councils. The captain was received with a joyful expression of feeling. He availed himself of the misapprehension, approached the tribune, and secured the president, saying to him in a low voice, "It is your brother's order:" the grenadiers at the same time shouted, "Down with the assassins!"

Upon these exclamations the triumph of the members was converted into a gloomy silence, which

testified the dejection of the whole assembly. No opposition was offered to the departure of the president, who left the chamber, rushed into the court-yard, mounted a horse, and cried out in his stentorian voice, "General—and you, soldiers—the president of the Council of Five Hundred proclaims to you, that factious men, with drawn daggers, have interrupted the deliberations of that assembly. He calls upon you to employ force against these disturbers. The Council of Five Hundred is dissolved!"

"President," replied the general, "it shall be done."

He then ordered Murat into the chamber, at the head of a detachment in close column. Murat presented himself at the door, and summoned the council to disperse; shouts and vociferations followed. Colonel Moulins, aid-de-camp of Brune, who had just arrived from Holland, ordered the charge to be beaten. The order was given, and the troops marched forward to execute it. The chamber of the council was still the seat of uproar, confusion and anarchy. A thousand motions had succeeded each other, every one struggling to gain precedency for his opinion, and the assembly was in its wildest state, when the sound of the *pas de charge*, the charging step, was heard. The noise of the drum soon suspended that of the debate, and the surprised orators eagerly darted their looks towards the place from whence the unwelcome sound proceeded. The soldiers appeared, preceded by officers, one of whom invited the deputies to clear the hall. Invectives and remonstrances were poured out with all the volubility of utterance, but these weapons had lost all their edge. The soldiers were deaf to every

thing but the orders they had received. The deputies leaped out of the windows, and dispersed, leaving their gowns, caps, &c.; in one moment the chamber was empty. Those members of the council, who had shown most pertinacity, fled with the utmost precipitation to Paris.

The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehensions; but no sooner were the Parisians in possession of the whole, and its probable results, than they were overjoyed. The overthrow of the Directory appeared to them as tantamount to the subversion of jacobinism and anarchy. They now cherished the hope of a new and better government, founded on the principles of justice and humanity. The Council of Ancients, animated by the same desires, issued a decree to the following effect:—"In consideration of the re treat of the Council of Five Hundred, and the resignation of four of the Directory, the fifth, Gohier, being confined, a temporary executive commission of three members shall be appointed. The legislature is adjourned to the first of Nivose next, (December 21st,) when it will again assemble in Paris without further delay. During the recess there will be an intermédial commission of the Council of the Ancients, in order to protect the rights of the national representation. The sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening of this day, when the council shall proceed to the appointment of the committee."

On the same evening, the Council of Five Hundred and that of the Ancients again assembled in their chambers; but the former, from which the jacobins had withdrawn, now appeared of a very different complexion from that which it had worn in

the early part of the day. Lucien Bonaparte, their president, congratulated the members present on the deliverance they had obtained from the dominion of the demagogues and assassins. The president then proposed a resolution to the effect, "that General Bonaparte, the other generals and officers, as well as the troops, had deserved well of their country."

This, carried without opposition, was succeeded by a proposal from Chasal, one of the deputies, that a committee of five should be appointed to consider the propriety of forming a new government; on which the president, mounting a tribune, pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government; and enlarged upon the profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, on the defects of the constitution itself, and on the necessity of a strong legislative power, capable of giving solidity to the state, and preventing the return of anarchy. The council then decreed, that the executive Directory no longer existed; that certain deputies, to the number of sixty-one, particularly in the sitting of that morning, were no longer members of the national representation; that an executive consular committee should be provisionally appointed, consisting of citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and General Bonaparte, under the designation of consuls of the French republic; that they should be invested with the full powers of the Directory; that the two councils should each name twenty-five commissioners charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution, the object of which changes was, to con-

solidate, and guaranty inviolate, the sovereignty of the people.

This decree was instantly communicated to the Council of Ancients, by whom it was passed at midnight; on which the three consuls, being summoned to the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, were thus addressed by the presidents:

"Citizens! the greatest people upon earth intrust you with their destinies: within three months the public opinion shall judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the direction of the armies, and peace itself, are all intrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal to accept such an important trust, and such high functions. But you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies; and it is well known to the legislature, that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The consuls then took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and proclamations communicating the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, were promulgated in all the departments of the republic without delay. Thus terminated this military revolution without bloodshed.

The three consuls entered upon their functions the following day at the palace of the Luxembourg; and the legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. The repeal of the law imposing a forced loan, and the law of hostages, were the first objects of their attention; the former had ruined public credit, and the latter had again lighted up the flames of civil war in the departments. Bonaparte succeeded in tranquillizing La Vendée, rather by lenient than coercive measures. Every where regularity succeeded to trouble and

disorder. The list of the emigrants was finally closed, and the threat of proscription against the clergy, &c. lost much of its terror. But only eight days after this revolution, a decree was issued, whereby fifty-nine of the most furious and inveterate jacobins were condemned to banishment, thirty-seven to Guiana, and the rest to the Isle of Oleron; but, as this was merely to strike terror into the terrorists, they were only placed under the surveillance of the minister of the police. Many churches were restored to their primitive use. Several exiled citizens were recalled, and among them Barthelemi, Carnot, and Pastoret. Lucien Bonaparte was constituted minister of the interior, and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of minister for foreign affairs.

At length the fabric of a new government was completed by the legislative commission, and approved on the 13th of December by the consuls and members of the legislative committee. This constitution was accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the public at large, and received the express and avowed assent of upwards of three millions of the people. On the 29th of December, 1799, the new constitution was proclaimed at Paris with great solemnity, and the people, by their acclamations, seemed to cherish the hope, that this would confer upon them the enjoyments of tranquillity, prosperity, and peace.

Charmed with novelty, the Parisians received the new constitution with delight, and viewed the pomp and splendour of the consular government with surprise and self-complacency. They reasoned little, but hoped much. Bonaparte was their idol, and from him alone they expected every thing.

CHAPTER IX.

Invasion of Italy; Promoted by Stratagem—M. Necker—Passage of Mount St. Bernard—Operations of the Army—Surprise of General Melas—The French enter Milan—Proclamation to the Army of Reserve—Surrender of Genoa to the Austrians—Passage of the Po—Affair of Montebello—Battle of Marengo—General Dessaix—Napoleon's Return to Paris—Letter from Louis XVIII.—Overtures of Count d'Artois—Dutchess de Guiche—Insurrections in Italy—The Emperor Paul abandons the Coalition—Return of French Emigrants—Infernal Machine.

This year commenced with the execution of a project so comprehensive in its extent, and apparrently so improbable in its execution, that it was not surprising that for a time it should have been deemed romantic, even by those who had most reason to dread its reality.

The plan no doubt originated in the warlike and fertile brain of Napoleon; it was designed to stop the career of the Austrian General Melas, whose recent successes in Italy required a check. It was proposed by the first consul to fall upon his rear, carry off his magazines, parks, and hospitals, and, having cut him off from Austria, to give him battle. This required celerity, profound secrecy, and much boldness. But how was it possible to keep the movements of the army concealed from the numerous spies of England and Austria? The method preferred by the first consul, was to divulge it himself with so much publicity, that it should become an object of derision to the enemy, and make the whole appear to be a plan to divert the Austrian army from the blockade of Genoa. The appointment of the French army of reserve was therefore

declared by messages to the legislative body and the senate, by decrees published in the newspapers, and by intimations of all kinds. From these it appeared, that the point of concentration would be Dijon. The spies and scouts immediately directed their attention to that city, where they found, in the beginning of April, a large staff without an army; though, in the course of a month, from 5 to 6000 conscripts and retired soldiers arrived, many of whom were maimed. This army of course became the object of ridicule, and when the first consul himself reviewed it, on the 6th of May, people were astonished to see no more than 6 or 7000 men, and the most of them not even clothed. These deceitful reports travelled through Geneva, Basle, Italy, Vienna, and Brittany. Numerous caricatures were published; one of them represented a boy of twelve years of age with a wooden leg, and underneath it was written, *Bonaparte's Army of Reserve.*

In the mean time, the real army had been formed, and was ready to march. La Vendée was tranquillized, and a final end put to the system of the Chouans, so that a considerable portion of the army of reserve had been drawn from that country. The park of artillery was formed of guns and wagons sent piecemeal from various arsenals and fortresses. The most difficult thing was to conceal the movement of the provisions indispensable for an army which was to cross barren mountains, where nothing was to be had; but even this was managed.

Another *ruse de guerre*, used on this occasion, was the dissemination of a number of little bulletins in manuscript, in which, besides many scandalous anecdotes respecting the first consul, it

was attempted to be proved that the army of reserve did not, and could not exist; that from 12 to 15,000 conscripts at most were all that could be collected, and it was insidiously asked, whether the army of Italy would have been left so weak, if the government had been able to re-enforce it. It was said at Paris, as well as at Dijon and Vienna, that no army of reserve existed. At the headquarters of the Austrian General Melas, the illusion was so complete, that they said, "The army of reserve we are threatened with is a band of 7 or 8000 conscripts or invalids, with which the French hope to deceive us into raising the siege of Genoa. The French rely too much on our simplicity: they wish us to realize the fable of the dog who dropped his prey for the shadow."

On the 6th of May, 1800, the first consul left Paris, and proceeded to Dijon. Arriving at Geneva on the 8th, M. Necker, then in that city, was presented to him, and expressed his hopes and wishes again to have the management of the French finances, though he did not even know in what manner the public business was conducted with treasury bonds. The first consul was very indifferently pleased with M. Necker, though he praised the military operations going on under his eyes.

On the 13th of May, Napoleon reviewed the real vanguard of the army of reserve at Lausanne: it was commanded by General Lannes, and consisted of six old regiments of chosen troops, well clothed, and completely equipped and appointed. It moved directly afterwards upon St. Pierre; the divisions followed *in echelon*, the whole forming an army of 36,000 fighting men, with a park of forty pieces of artillery.

The passage of Mount St. Bernard was preferred by Napoleon to that of Mount Cenis: the difficulty in the former lay in the ascent and descent; but then it offered the advantage of leaving Turin on the right, and acting in a country more covered and less known. Still a speedy passage of the artillery seemed impossible. The cartridges and ammunition were put into cases, which, as well as the mountain forges, were carried by mules. The greatest difficulty was in getting the pieces themselves over; but a number of trunks of trees, hollowed out for the reception of the guns, which were fastened into them by their trunnions, being prepared, every piece, thus arranged, was dragged by soldiers. All these dispositions were made with so much promptitude, that the march of the artillery caused no delay. The troops themselves made it a point of honour not to leave their guns in the rear, and throughout the whole passage the regimental bands were playing; and it was only in difficult spots that the charge was beaten, to give fresh vigour to the soldiers. One division, rather than leave their artillery, chose to pass the night upon the summit of a mountain in the midst of snow and excessive cold.

It has been said that Napoleon had his fortune to make at this period: but at the moment of crossing Mount St. Bernard he had fought twenty pitched battles, conquered Italy, dictated peace to Austria at twenty leagues distance from Vienna; negotiated at Rastadt with Count Cobentzel for the surrender of the strong city of Mentz; raised near 300 millions of contributions, which had served to supply the army during two years, to create the Cisalpine army, and even to pay some of the offices

of government in Paris. He had sent to the museum three hundred *chef d'œuvres*, ancient Grecian statues or pictures of the age of the Medici. He had conquered in Egypt; suppressed the factions at home, and eradicated the war in La Vendée.

On the 16th of May, Bonaparte slept at the convent of St. Maurice, and the whole army passed the St. Bernard on the 17th. He crossed on the 20th, riding on a mule recommended by one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre as the most sure-footed in all the country. Bonaparte's guide was a tall, robust youth of twenty-two, who conversed freely with him, with all the confidence becoming his age, and the simplicity of the inhabitants of the mountains. He confided all his troubles to the first consul, as well as the dreams of his future happiness.

Before he was dismissed, Napoleon, who till then had shown no disposition to do any thing for him, wrote a note, which realized all the poor fellow's hopes, such as the building of a house, the purchase of a piece of ground, &c. The astonishment of this young mountaineer was extreme.

The first consul remained an hour at the convent of the Hospitallers, and performed the descent *à la ramasse*, that is, sliding on a sort of sledge down an almost perpendicular glacier. The descent was more difficult for the horses than the ascent had been; however, very few accidents happened. The monks also accommodated the men to the best of their ability: each soldier, as he passed, received a comfortable ration from these good fathers.

On the 17th of May, the van-guard reached Chatillon, where an Austrian corps of 4 or 5000 men, posted to defend the valley, were attacked and

routed; three guns and some hundreds of prisoners were taken. Still, whilst the French army were flattering themselves that every difficulty was overcome, their progress was all at once checked by the cannon of Fort Bard.

This obstacle was more considerable than that of the Great St. Bernard itself: yet neither the one nor the other retarded the march of this army. The Austrian officer, who commanded Fort Bard, despatched letter after letter to General Melas, informing him that he saw more than 30,000 men, 3 or 4000 horses, and a numerous staff, attempting to pass on his right, by a path of steps in the rock of Albaredo. He even suggested, that it would be more than a month before the French army would receive its artillery, or be able to trust itself in the plain. After the surrender of the fort, the officers of the garrison were strangely surprised, on learning that all the French artillery had passed by night at thirty or forty toises from their ramparts. The Fort of Bard surrendered on the 1st of June. In the interval from the 1st of May, Melas had been marching troops upon Turin, and strengthening the divisions in the Valley of Aosta and Mount Cenis; though on the 22d the latter post was taken by General Thurreau, who had 3000 men under him; his subsequent occupation, of a position between Susa and Turin, alarmed Melas, and paralyzed his efforts.

Ivrea, occupied by five or six thousand Austrians, was soon after carried, together with the citadel, containing numerous magazines.

On the 26th, the enemy having retired to Romano to cover Turin, General Lannes attacked him in his position, overthrew, and drove him in disorder upon that city. The French advanced guard im-

mediately took possession of Chivasso, where Bonaparte harangued the troops, and bestowed eulogiums upon them.

Preparations having been made by the French, as if they intended to pass the Po, General Melas selected an officer who had the honour of knowing the first consul, and sent him on a parley to the out-posts. His surprise at finding him so near the Austrians was extreme.

On the 27th, General Murat passed the Sesia, and on the 31st of May, Bonaparte moved rapidly upon the Tessino. Here the Austrians had united to cover Milan, and the contest was brisk during the whole day. The French had no bridge, but crossed upon four small boats, and on the 2d of June they entered the city of Milan, and invested the citadel. Bonaparte, marching with the van-guard, was one of the first persons who presented themselves to the eyes of the astonished inhabitants, who had crowded from all quarters. They could scarcely trust their sight! it had been reported that Napoleon had died on the Red Sea, and that it was one of his brothers who commanded the army!

Between the 1st and 8th of June, the following proclamation was addressed to the army of reserve:

"Soldiers! One of our departments was in the power of the enemy: consternation reigned over the whole south of France.

"The greater part of the territory of the Ligurians, the most faithful friends of the republic, was invaded.

"The Cisalpine republic, annihilated by the last campaign, had become the sport of a ridiculous feudal domination.

"Soldiers! you march, and the French territory is already free! Consternation and dread are succeeded by joy and hope in our country.

"You will restore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa, who will be forever relieved from their eternal foes.

"You are in the capital of the Cisalpine.

"The enemy, panic-struck, hope only to regain the frontiers. You have taken from them their stores, their magazines, and their reserve of artillery.

"The first act of the campaign is ended.

"You hear, daily, millions of men manifest their gratitude to you.

"But shall the violation of the French soil pass unpunished? Will you suffer those soldiers who have carried terror into your families to return to their firesides? You rush to arms.

"Well, then, march to meet them, oppose their retreat, snatch from them the laurels with which they have decked themselves, and thereby teach the world, that a malediction rests upon all madmen who dare to insult the territory of the great nation.

"The result of our efforts will be *unclouded glory and solid peace.*

"The First Consul,

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

About this period, a despatch from the ministry at Vienna to M. de Melas was intercepted; it contained some curious information with regard to what is called "the *pretended* army of reserve;" and Melas was ordered to continue his operations in Provence vigorously. It was also stated, that some

commotions had taken place in Paris, and obliged the first consul to return hastily to that capital from Geneva!

But, in the midst of the most brilliant successes and the fairest hopes, it was the fate of the French army to hear that Genoa had actually capitulated. Bonaparte then saw that he must rely on his own strength alone, and that he would shortly have to manage the whole army.

The enemy, encouraged by circumstances, sent a van-guard of four to five thousand men to attack that of the French, who had passed the Po; but General Lannes soon routed them, and at night took a position before the Austrian army, which occupied Montebello and Casteggio, with about 18,000 men and Ott's grenadiers, the flower of the army.

Lannes, being in position, and expecting re-enforcements every moment, had no inducement to attack; but the Austrian general made a movement at day-break. The battle was bloody. Lannes covered himself with glory; the Austrians fought desperately, but, Victor's division coming up about noon, the day was decided in favour of the French. The enemy lost 3000 killed and 6000 prisoners. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th, the first consul remained in the position at Stradella, employing the time in concentrating his army, and securing his retreat by the construction of two bridges across the Po, and fortifying them. The enemy's cavalry was formidable, and that of the French, with the artillery, was inferior in number; it was therefore dangerous to engage in the plain of Marengo. However, the issue showed that there was no longer any choice; and, besides, the chances of victory were

wholly in favour of the Austrian army, which was very numerous. Previous to the battle of Marengo, which occurred on the 14th of June, 1800, General Dessaix, who had returned from Egypt, arrived at the head-quarters, with his aids-de-camp, Rapp and Savory. Dessaix burned to signalize himself. He longed to avenge the ill-treatment he had received from Admiral Keith at Leghorn. Napoleon immediately gave him the command of the division of Boudet.

Under the impression that the Austrians were marching on Genoa, Napoleon despatched Dessaix's division in the form of a van-guard upon his extreme left, whilst Victor, arriving at Marengo, routed a rear-guard of four or five thousand Austrians, and made himself master of the village.

On the 14th, at break of day, the Austrians defiled by three bridges of the Bormida, and made a furious attack upon Marengo. The resistance was kept up for a long time. Bonaparte arrived on the field of battle at ten in the morning, between San Juliano and Marengo: the latter had been carried by the enemy. Victor's division, after a smart conflict, was thrown into the utmost disorder, and the plain was left covered with French fugitives, many of whom were exclaiming in dismay, "All is lost!"

The corps of General Lannes, a little in the rear of the right of Marengo, was outflanked by the enemy, upon which Bonaparte despatched his battalion of the cavalry guard, the best troops in the army, to station themselves at a distance of 500 toises from Lannes, and keep the enemy in check. The first consul himself also hastened with the seventy-second demi-brigade to assist Lannes. When the army perceived him in the middle of this immense plain,

and 200 horse grenadiers with their fur caps, their hopes of victory returned, and the fugitives were rallied upon San Juliano in the rear of the left of Lannes, who was effecting his retreat with admirable order and coolness. This corps occupied three hours in retiring three quarters of a league, entirely exposed to the grape shot of eighty pieces of cannon; at the same time that, by an inverse movement, St. Cyr advanced upon the extreme right, and turned the left of the enemy.

About three in the afternoon the corps under Dessaix arrived: the first consul made him take a position on the road in advance of San Juliano. Melas, who thought that victory had decided in his favour, being overcome with fatigue, repassed the bridges, and left to General Zach, the head of his staff, the task of pursuing the French. The first consul ordered General Dessaix to charge Zach's column of 6000 grenadiers; but, as he advanced at the head of 200 troopers, he was shot through the heart by a ball, and fell dead at the very moment he had given the word to charge. This misfortune did not discourage the movement. General Boudet easily inspired the soldiers with the same ardent desire of instant revenge. On this occasion the ninth demi-brigade merited the title of *Incomparable*. General Kellerman at the same time, with 800 heavy horse, charged the Austrian column intrepidly: in less than half an hour these 6000 grenadiers were broken, dispersed, and put to flight, and General Zach and all his staff made prisoners.

The whole Austrian army was thrown into the most dreadful confusion. From eight to ten thousand cavalry, which were spread over the field, fearing that St Cyr's division might reach the bridge

before them, retreated at full gallop, and overturned all they met in their way. No one thought of any thing but flight. The pressure and confusion on the bridges became extreme, and all who remained at night upon the left bank were made prisoners.

In this desperate situation, General Melas resolved to give his troops the whole night to rally and repose themselves; availing himself of the Bormida on one side, and the citadel of Allesandra on the other, or at any rate to save his army by capitulating. Accordingly, on the 15th, by day-break, the Austrian general sent a flag of truce, which on the same day led to a convention, by which Genoa and all the fortified places in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, were given up, and by which the Austrian army obtained leave to retire behind Mantua, without being made prisoners of war. Thus was the conquest of all Italy secured.

In consequence of this change of affairs, General Suchet entered Genoa on the 24th of June, which was given up to him by Prince Hohenzollern, to the great regret of the English.

The first consul, on the 17th of June, set out from Marengo for Milan; which place, as well as a great part of Italy, had become the scene of the most animated rejoicings.

Though General Massena had been guilty of an error in embarking his troops at Genoa, instead of conducting them by land, it was considered that he had always displayed great character and energy. The first consul, therefore, appointed him commander-in-chief of the army of Italy.

The Austrians and the French, now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew near to each other, and offered or sought mutual assistance.

"The next morning," says an eye witness, "I entered the great court of Marengo: I was there struck with a sight so horrible, that I shudder at its recollection: more than three thousand French and Austrians, heaped one upon another in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables, and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most heart-rending lamentations, and crying out by turns for food, for water, and for the assistance of the surgeon.

The battle of Marengo was celebrated at Paris by a *fete*, on the 14th of July, and then presented a singularly interesting spectacle. This was the remains of the "wall of granite," who, just as the games were about to begin, marched into the field. The sight of these soldiers, covered with the dust of their march, embrowned with the sun, and with the marks of warlike toil on their brow, formed a scene so affecting, that the people could not be restrained by the guards from violating the limits, to take a nearer view of these interesting heroes. While the parade lasted, tolerable good order was preserved; but, as they marched away, after their presentation to the first consul, mothers, sisters, and friends, rushed forwards to embrace sons and brothers as they passed; and, amidst this joy of tears, and the loud acclamations of the spectators, the whole order of the ceremony was disturbed; useless efforts were made to persuade the people to retire to their positions, and the intended games were wisely deferred.

Napoleon's presence being necessary at Paris, he arrived there on the 2d of July, in the middle of the night, and was received on the following day with every demonstration of joy.

It is a curious fact, that Napoleon most religiously preserved the drab great coat, which he wore during his passage over Mount St. Gothard, previous to the memorable battle of Marengo. He was so much attached to this surtout, that he frequently wore it previous to decisive battles; and it is in this very habiliment that he is uniformly represented in the great pictures painted by his order, to immortalize his most celebrated triumphs.

Shortly after the battle of Marengo, Napoleon says, Louis XVIII. wrote a letter to him, which was delivered by the Abbé Montesquiou, in which he complained of his long delay in restoring him to his throne; that the happiness of France could never be complete without him; neither could the glory of the country be complete without Bonaparte; that one was as necessary to it as the other; and concluded by desiring Napoleon to choose whatever he thought proper, provided he was restored to his throne. Napoleon sent him back a very handsome answer, in which he stated, that he was extremely sorry for the misfortunes of himself and family; that he was ready to do every thing in his power to relieve them, and would interest himself in providing a suitable income for them; but that he might abandon the thought of ever returning to France as a sovereign, as that could not be effected without marching over the bodies of five hundred thousand Frenchmen.

The overtures made to Napoleon by the Count d'Artois possessed still more elegance and address. The bearer of these was the Dutchess de Guiche, a lady whose personal graces and fascinating manners were extremely prepossessing. She got access to Madame Bonaparte, and breakfasted with

her at Malmaison. Here the conversation turning on London, the emigrants, and the French princes, Madame de Guiche mentioned her having been at the house of the Count d'Artois, when some person asked him what he intended to do for the first consul, in the event of his restoring the Bourbons; and that the prince had replied, "I would immediately make him constable of the kingdom, and every thing else he might choose. But even that would not be enough: we would raise on the Carrousel a lofty and magnificent column, surmounted with a statue of Bonaparte crowning the Bourbons."

As soon as Napoleon entered the apartment, Josephine eagerly repeated what the dutchess had said. "And did not you reply," said her husband, "that the corpse of the first consul would have been made the pedestal of the columns?" The charming dutchess was still present; the beauties of her countenance, her eyes, her words, were directed to the success of her mission. She observed, also, that she was so much delighted, she did not know how she should ever be able sufficiently to acknowledge the favour which Madame Bonaparte had procured her of seeing and hearing so distinguished a man—so great a hero. All this was in vain—the dutchess received orders that very night to quit Paris.

Whilst at St. Helena, Napoleon, speaking in reference to Louis, the French king, observed, "If Lord Castlereagh were to offer me the crown of France on the same conditions, I would prefer remaining where I am. There is no man more to be pitied than Louis. He is forced upon the nation as a king, and, instead of being allowed to ingratiate himself with the people, the allies compel him to have recourse to measures, which must increase

their hatred, instead of conciliating their affections. Royalty is degraded by the steps they have obliged him to adopt. *On la rend si sale et si méprisable*, that it reflects upon England itself. Ill treated as I have been," continued Napoleon, "I prefer my sojourn on this execrable rock, to being seated on the throne of France, like Louis; as I know that posterity will do me justice. Another year or two will probably finish my career in this world, but what I have done will never perish. Twelve hundred years hence, my name will be mentioned with respect, whilst those of my oppressors will be unknown, or only known by being loaded with infamy and opprobrium."

On the 28th of July, preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio.

At no period of their history, not even in the early part of Maria Theresa's reign, was the situation of the Austrian monarchy in a more critical juncture. The French, after the signal victory at Hohenlinden, had crossed the Inn and the Ipps, and, arriving at Steyer, in Upper Austria, were within seventeen leagues of Vienna. The Gallo-Batavian army at the same time were advancing along the Danube. Macdonald, in possession of the mountains of the Tyrol, had the option of descending into Italy or Germany, while Brune, after taking fifteen thousand prisoners in twenty days, was ready to penetrate into the mountains of Carinthia.

The last armistice, like that which had preceded it, did not continue many weeks; and, as it did not extend to Italy, in the beginning of the succeeding year, the Imperial and French troops were again in

motion. The French generals, acting upon the plans of the first consul, were repeatedly victorious; and many battles were fought, highly disadvantageous to the enemy, especially that of Pozzolo in Italy. The siege of Peschiera was warmly pushed, and the place surrendered to General Chasseloup. In the course of a few weeks, the expedition of General Murat against the kingdom of Naples was again followed by an armistice, the submission of Roger Damas, and the friendly reception of General Murat at Rome.

Much negotiation and political intrigue had been carried on during the latter end of 1800. The continent, weary of nine years' war, ardently sighed for peace. It was also known to be a part of Bonaparte's ambition, to become the pacificator of the country which had called him to be the supreme magistrate. Austria, however, still found itself fettered by its engagements with England; whilst the British cabinet was redoubling its efforts to fix the indecision of its ally, and to effect the renewal of the war upon the continent. In this alone they could ensure their preponderance in foreign councils, and the monopoly of the commerce of Europe.

During these negotiations, which both parties kept as secret as possible, hostile preparations were carrying on with the greatest activity. Austria had ordered a levy *en masse* in Hungary; the frontier of Upper Austria, and the right bank of the Inn, were covered with intrenchments from Kuffstein to Passau; numerous re-enforcements were sent to the armies, and corps of reserve were formed in the rear. The English augmented their naval force, and many attempts were made upon the French coast, and in the Mediterranean.

The French, in order to maintain their superiority upon the continent, detached 15,000 men from the second army of reserve, into Switzerland, under the orders of General Macdonald, to connect themselves in such a manner with the armies of Italy and Germany, as to succour either, according to circumstances. In fact, by the month of September, 1800, France had more than 200,000 excellent troops in the field.

Whilst these hostile corps were approaching each other in the heart of Germany, the first consul authorized General Moreau to continue the armistice beyond the 10th of September, the day it was to expire. Moreau accordingly took it upon himself to prolong the armistice till the 17th. The first consul approved of this delay, but sent an order by the telegraph to this general, to insist upon the ratification of the preliminaries, or to commence hostilities immediately; but authorizing him at the same time to consent to a new armistice for a month, if the emperor would deliver up Philipsbourg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, as pledges of his good faith. Austria, who only sought to gain time, agreed to this new proposal.

The prolongation of the armistice in Germany did not by any means alleviate the hardships endured by the inhabitants from the presence of so many armies, every day consuming the produce of the whole country between the Rhine and the Inn; for, notwithstanding the strictest discipline, the people were in the greatest misery. In the course of one year, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, had furnished more than two millions in contributions; besides these, the most exorbitant requisitions were daily made, and the people did not receive the least con-

solation from the Austrian government, deaf to the complaints that were continually made. This truly deplorable situation had a natural tendency to relax the bonds of the German confederation; and most of the princes who composed it, finding themselves in a hopeless condition, sought an alliance with Bonaparte, and entered into separate treaties with him, without waiting the issue of the emperor's negotiations at Luneville.

The influence of the first consul was thus increasing from day to day; and, to weaken the coalition still more, he availed himself of an expedient calculated to detach Russia from the allies altogether. The emperor Paul had for more than a year solicited the British cabinet to consent to the exchange of Russian prisoners in France, for a similar number of French, detained in England, the refusal of which had raised that sovereign's resentment to the highest degree. Bonaparte, availing himself of this circumstance, collected between nine and ten thousand Russian prisoners in the northern departments of France, clothed them in their own proper uniform, equipped and armed them, and sent them home without being exchanged. Paul, already seduced by the military reputation of Bonaparte, was quite brought over by this specious act of generosity, and which in the end produced an alliance between them, that eventually occasioned the assassination of the unfortunate Paul.

The congress at Luneville was opened on the 9th of November, 1800; when, as Bonaparte would not admit of an English plenipotentiary unless the proposed *naval* armistice was previously agreed to, the negotiations were confined to an exchange of full powers, empty formalities, and useless protesta-

tions. In the interim, the forty-five days, prescribed for the armistice agreed on at Hohenlinden, having elapsed, Bonaparte sent couriers to the generals of the armies, to commence hostilities on the 26th of November.

Austria, the principal champion at the head of the struggle of the kings against the first consul, owing to the gold of England, had made such prodigious efforts, that she was once more in a situation to contend for victory, and the battle of Hohenlinden soon followed, in which the French, under Moreau, were, as usual, triumphant, and the archduke John was obliged to abandon all his intrenchments upon the Inn, and retire upon Alza. The battles that followed brought the French armies into Styria, within a few leagues of Vienna, when the Austrian general Grune presented himself at head-quarters, with full powers to conclude another armistice! The archduke also announced to the general-in-chief, that the emperor of Austria was determined to make peace, with or without the consent of the allies. Moreau, who thought he had performed enough for his glory, disdained the empty honour of a triumphal entry into the capital of Austria, and therefore thought proper to suspend the march of his troops, and accede to the proposed armistice. However, in twenty-two days the French army had gained forty leagues of ground, and the formidable lines of the Inn; the Salzbach, the Traun, and the Ens, had been passed without loss; while more than forty-five thousand Imperialists killed and wounded, a hundred and forty field-pieces, and a number of colours taken, rendered the moderation of the conquerors still more conspicuous.

For some time before the expiration of 1800, the return of the emigrants to France had been facilitated in various ways by the liberality of the first consul; but, towards the close of that year, their conspiracies gave the most unfavourable bias to this indulgence. Here we allude to the explosion of the infernal machine, on the evening of the 24th of December.

From the Journal of the private Life of Napoleon, it now appears, that two infernal machines were constructed, and the contrivers of both discovered to Napoleon, but who, with his usual policy, kept the history of the first a profound secret. He did not like to divulge the numerous conspiracies of which he was the object.

The construction of the first of these infernal machines, the emperor imputed to a hundred furious jacobins, the real authors of the scenes of September and the 10th of August. To accomplish their purpose of getting rid of him, they invented a fifteen or sixteen pound howitzer, which, on being thrown into the carriage, would explode by its own concussion. To make their object more sure, they proposed to lay caltrops along a part of the road, which would impede the carriage, and prevent the horses from moving on. The man who was to be employed in laying down the caltrops, entertaining some suspicions of the job, communicated his ideas to the police. The conspirators were soon traced, and were apprehended near the Jardin des Plantes, in the act of trying the effects of a machine, which made a terrible explosion. The first consul, for reasons aforesaid, did not give publicity to this event, but contented himself with imprisoning the criminals. He soon relaxed his orders for keeping

them closely confined, and thus they were allowed to mingle with some royalists in the same prison, who were there for having attempted to assassinate him by means of air-guns. These two parties formed an alliance, and the royalists transmitted to their friends out of prison the idea of the last infernal machine, which actually exploded on the 24th of December.

The account that Napoleon gave of this event, stated in substance, that on that evening he was much pressed to go to the opera. He had been greatly occupied with business all the day, and in the evening found himself sleepy and tired. He threw himself on a sofa in his wife's room, and fell asleep. Josephine came down some time after, awoke him, and insisted he should go to the theatre. She wished him to do every thing to ingratiate himself with the people. Against his inclination he got up, went into his carriage, accompanied by Lasnes and Bessieres, but was so drowsy that he fell asleep in the coach, and continued so till the explosion took place, when he recollected experiencing a sensation, as if the vehicle had been raised up, and was passing through a great body of water. The contrivers were a man named St. Regent; Imolan, a religious man, who afterwards went to America and became a priest; and some others. They procured a cart and a barrel, resembling those with which water is supplied in the streets of Paris, only with this exception, that the barrel was placed crossways. This Imolan filled with gunpowder, and placed it and himself nearly in the turning of the street (St. Nicaise) through which the consul's carriage was to pass.

What saved Bonaparte was, his wife's carriage being the same in appearance as his, and, as there was a guard of fifteen men to each, Imolan did not know which carriage Bonaparte was in, and was not certain he would be in either: to ascertain this, he stepped forward to look into the carriage. One of the guards, a great, tall, strong fellow, impatient and angry at seeing a man stopping up the way, and staring into the carriage, rode up, and gave him a kick with his great boot, crying out, "Get out of the way, *pekin*," which knocked him down. Before he could get up, the carriage had passed a little on, when Imolan, probably confused by his fall, not perceiving that the carriage had passed, exploded his machine between the two carriages. It killed the horse of one of the guards, wounded the rider, knocked down several houses, and killed and wounded about forty or fifty spectators, who were gazing to see the first consul pass. The police collected together all the remnants of the cart and the machine, and invited all the workmen in Paris to come and look at them. The pieces were recognised by several. One said, I made this, another that, and all agreed they had sold them to two men, who by their accent were *Bas-Bretons*, natives of Lower Brittany; but nothing more could be learned.

Shortly after, the hackney coachmen and others of that description gave a great dinner in the Champs Elysées to Cæsar, Napoleon's coachman, thinking he had saved his master's life, by his skill and activity at the moment of the explosion, which was not the case, for he was drunk at the time. It was the guardsman that saved it, by knocking Imolan down. It is possible that the coachman as

sisted, by driving furiously round the corner, as being drunk, and not afraid of any thing. He was so far gone, that he thought the report of the explosion was that of a salute fired in honour of his master's visit to the theatre. At the coachmen's dinner they all took their bottle freely: one of them, when drunk, said, "Cæsar, I know the men who tried to blow the first consul up the other day. In such a street, and such a house," naming them, "I saw on that day a water-cart coming out of a passage, which arrested my attention, as I had never seen one there before. I observed the men and the horse, and should know them again." The minister of police was sent for; the man was interrogated, and brought to the house referred to, where they found the measure with which the conspirators had put the powder into the barrel, and there was a little of the powder scattered about. The master of the house, on being questioned, said there had been people there for some time, whom he took to be smugglers; that on the day in question they had gone out with the cart, which he supposed contained a loading of smuggled goods. He added, that they were *Bas-Bretons*, and that one of them appeared to give directions to the other two. A description of their persons being thus obtained, St Regent and Carbon were taken, tried, and executed. An inspector of police had noticed the cart standing at the corner of the street for a long time, and had ordered the person that was with it to drive it away, but he made some excuse, and said there was plenty of room; the inspector seeing what he thought a *water-cart*, with a miserable horse not worth twenty francs, did not suspect any lurking mischief.

The sensation excited by the shock of this explosion, Napoleon afterwards acknowledged, awoke him from a dream that he was drowning in the Tagliamento, an event which must have left a very deep impression upon his mind. It was then some few years since he had passed the river Tagliamento in Italy, in his carriage, during the night. In the ardour of youth, and heedless of every obstacle, though he was attended by a hundred men, armed with poles and torches, his carriage was soon set on float. He for some time gave himself up for lost. So at the moment when he awoke on his way to the opera, in the midst of a conflagration, the carriage was lifted up, and the passage of the Tagliamento came fresh upon his memory. The illusion, however, was but short—"We are blown up!" exclaimed the first consul to Lasnes and Bessieres, who were in the carriage with him. They proposed to make arrests, but he advised them not to be too hasty. He arrived safe at the opera, and appeared as if nothing had happened.

Napoleon, being asked, whilst at St. Helena, who the persons were that employed the contrivers of the infernal machine, said they were employed by the Count D***, and sent over by Pitt in English ships, and furnished with English money. "Although," added he, "your **** did not actually suborn them, they knew what they were going to execute, and furnished them with the means." He did not believe that Louis XVIII. was privy to it.

Previous to this, a conspiracy of about fifty persons, most of whom had once been very much attached to him, consisting of officers in the army, men of science, painters and sculptors, was formed against him. They were all stern republicans; their

minds were heated; each fancied himself a Brutus, him a tyrant and another Cæsar. Amongst them was Arena, a countryman of Bonaparte's, who imagined, that by getting rid of him he should do a service to France. Ceracchi, another Corsican sculptor, having determined to kill the first consul, came to Paris from Milan, and, though he had made one statue for him at the latter place, he solicited to have the honour of making another; but his intention was to poniard Bonaparte whilst he was sitting for it. This was refused; and, as Napoleon was then ignorant of the conspiracy, this refusal saved his life.

Among these conspirators was a captain; he would not consent that Bonaparte should be killed, but, as he could not bring the rest of them into his way of thinking, he gave information of their names and plans. They were to assassinate Napoleon the first night he went to the theatre, in the passage on his returning. Every thing being arranged with the police, Napoleon went the same evening to the theatre, and actually passed through the conspirators, some of whom he knew personally, and who were armed with poniards under their cloaks. Shortly after his arrival they were seized, afterwards tried and executed.

Lucien Bonaparte was appointed prime minister of the interior this year, and on the 14th of July he laid the first stone of the national column at Paris, intended to celebrate the chief epochas of the revolution, and the new order of things under the benign influence of the first consul. In the same year Lucien, with the prefect of the Seine, laid the foundation stone of a departmental column,

sacred to liberty and war, and dedicated to the army.

The year 1800 terminated triumphantly for the French arms in Italy. General Lecourbe entered Steyer, in Carinthia, on the 25th of December. The Austrians lost 12,000 men killed, and 8000 prisoners. The Mincio was passed, and the city of Verona entered by General Brune, on the last day of the year.

CHAPTER X.

Armistice in Italy—Peace of Luneville—Capture of the Hannibal, a seventy-four—Expedition against Boulogne—Treaty of Amiens—Bonaparte's Plans for the internal Improvement of France—Pacification with the Pope—Assassination of the Emperor Paul of Russia—Remarks on his Murderers—Anecdotes—French Expedition to St. Domingo.—Changes in the Government of Switzerland.

In January, 1801, the French and Austrian generals in Italy entered into a convention, by which it was stipulated, that the Tyrol should be wholly evacuated by the Austrians, and the fortresses of Brannau and Wurtzburgh delivered up to the French. These stipulations were soon followed by a new agreement, at Trevisa, between the generals Brune and Bellegarde, by which a cessation of arms was obtained in Italy, on condition of surrendering Peschiera, Sermione, Verona, Legnano, Ferrara and Ancona, afterwards ceded to the French.

On the 9th of February, 1801, the peace of Luneville, after so many delays, was actually signed. Its conditions were, that the left bank of the Rhine should be the limit of the French republic, which should give up all claims upon the right.

The interval between the peace of Luneville and that of Amiens, that followed, was occupied by such formidable preparations on the opposite coasts of England, that an attempt to cripple or destroy those at Boulogne was not thought unworthy the talents and enterprise of a Nelson.

Some success in the Mediterranean, in the capture of the Hannibal, a British 74 gun ship, in the harbour of Algesiras, was magnified by the French

into a great victory; three of their ships, as they asserted, having beaten six of the English! Hence the destruction of the modern Carthage was fondly predicted, from the loss of her Hannibal.

The failure of the expedition against Boulogne, was very grateful to the French people; whilst their government exhibited an unusual degree of moderation. It was owned, that the first consul had long been aware, that neither his ports nor his fleets were secure from the enterprise and valour of the English seamen; and that he was no longer desirous of intrusting their safety to the chances of failure, or the caprices of fortune. Ambitious of every new species of glory, he now appeared desirous of the blessing of tranquillity, and of adding to his martial renown the title of "The Pacificator of Europe."

Bonaparte, some years after, spoke in high terms of Lord Nelson, and attempted to palliate that only stigma upon his memory, the execution of Carracioli, the Neapolitan patriot, which he attributed entirely to his having been deceived by that wicked woman, Queen Caroline of Naples, through the means of Lady Hamilton, and to the influence which the latter had over Nelson.

The ground-work of this pacific disposition in the French ruler was, that, for some time past, an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce and flags of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait: so that, while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet-boats, and the messengers of the courts of St. James and the Tuille-

ries. At length, Lord Hawkesbury, the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, after a long but secret correspondence with M. Otto, announced, on the first of October, the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on one part, and Spain, France and Holland on the other. This intelligence diffused universal satisfaction all over the kingdom. At the end of eleven days, the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the first consul was brought from Paris to London, by Colonel Lauriston, who, with the French ambassador, was drawn through the streets in his carriage, by the populace of that city.

Amiens, the town assigned for the discussion of the definitive treaty, had been the residence for some months of the ministers of the respective powers. The Marquis Cornwallis represented Great Britain; Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state, France; M. Azzara, Spain; and M. Schimmelpennick, Holland. It may be necessary to state here, that, by the preliminary articles, on which the definitive treaty was grounded, his Britannic majesty agreed to restore to the French republic, and her allies, all the possessions and colonies conquered by the British arms during the war, the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions of Ceylon excepted. It was further stipulated, that the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem within three months. And, for the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be under the guarantee and pro

tection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte. The territories and possessions of his most faithful majesty shall likewise be preserved entire. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall, in like manner, evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French republic. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be restored to the same state in which they were before the present war. And, finally, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

The conclusion of the first French revolutionary war, which had lasted the same number of years as the siege of Troy, proved a subject of exultation to the French nation. The French consul hastened to notify the joyful event to the legislative body, the tribunate, and the conservative senate; but, whilst congratulating these bodies on the one hand, he endeavoured to impress all the countries of Europe with the persuasion, that it was the ambition of England alone, which had so long contributed to disturb the tranquillity of mankind.

Though the French government was much distressed for want of cash during the year 1801, being reduced to the necessity of threatening forced loans, the first consul seemed to have fixed his thoughts on vast plans of improvement and embel-

lishment. Early in the year he made a journey to St. Quentin, where he purposed to revive the expiring manufactures, and visited for the purpose of resuming them the discontinued works of the canal of Languedoc. On this point he consulted his most eminent engineers, and purposed, by a canal which should join the River Yonne to the Saone, to form a complete internal navigation from the north of the republic to the south. When the canals of St Quentin and Burgundy should be finished, a boat from Amsterdam might, without discharging its cargo, arrive through the interior at Marseilles. Other magnificent projects were daily detailed; new bridges were to be built, the public roads improved, fortresses were to be erected, the Louvre completed, the national library placed in a new hall, and museums established in the fifteen principal cities of France. These, and many other grand projects, were employed to occupy the public attention, while bread was rising to an alarming price, insomuch, that even fear could not restrain the outcries of the people, and all the vigilance of the police could not prevent some disturbance, even in the capital.

Splendid shows were repeated, and these seemed never to lose their effect; but that was only momentary, and government showed many signs of alarm. The new laws, however rigorous, were not considered sufficient, although their execution was unremitted and unlimited; the press, both in France, and wherever the influence of France extended, was laid under arbitrary restraint; those who published pamphlets in Paris on the concordate were arrested and imprisoned; and the Leyden Gazette was forcibly suppressed, because the editor had allowed himself to make some observations on the

various constitutions established in Holland. Yet rumours of discord and insurrection were prevalent; the officers of the army of Germany loudly complained that their services were slighted, while all favours were lavished on those who had acted in Italy and Egypt, and even Moreau himself, not without reason, was regarded with jealousy and suspicion. The consular guard was augmented to 16,000 men, and in the midst of triumph, flattery, and uncontrolled power, the chief appeared distrustful, and many of the people dissatisfied.

In the course of this year all the continental powers, that had waged war against the French republic, were disposed for peace. The elector palatine of Bavaria negotiated a treaty, by which he renounced the dutchies of Juliers. Deux-Ponts, and their dependencies.

But the policy of Napoleon was still more eminently displayed by a pacification with the pope, which contributed very much to the tranquillity of France. By a convention with the sovereign pontiff, ratified in September, 1801, the first consul was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy, so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities. His holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrate was to nominate to the vacant sees. A new and more suitable form of prayer for the first consul was introduced; and it was further stipulated on the part of the holy father and his successors, that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church should not be disturbed.

By the concordate agreed to in the ensuing year, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the Catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray the expenses of public worship. But its possessions and ceremonies were to be subjected to the civil power, while the chief consul was to be declared head of the Gallican church, and the bishops and priests were to make a solemn promise of fidelity.

An event highly important in its consequences took place in Russia in the month of March, this year. The emperor Paul I., at the age of forty-six years, was said to have died suddenly in the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of that month, just at the moment when an English fleet, under the admirals Hyde Parker and Nelson, were passing the sound, to chastise the northern powers, for presuming to defend the independence of European navigation. The results of this sudden death were the astonishment of the confederate powers at its coincidence with the late expedition to Copenhagen. At the moment when these powers seemed desirous to effect a change in the policy of the new czar of Russia, Alexander solemnly declared that he would renounce the system adopted by his father with respect to England. Thus was dissolved the formidable confederation of the northern powers; leaving few other traces behind it than the destruction of the Danish fleet on the second of April, and the sudden death of the emperor Paul. Bonaparte, referring to this event when at St. Helena, said, "Alexander employs the murderers of his father. One of them, O., is now his aid-de-camp. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that, at Tilsit, he observed to me, that I

paid a great deal of attention to B****, and begged to know my reasons for it. I answered, 'Because he is your general.' '*Cependant*,' said he, '**** *c'est un vilain coquin. C'est lui qui a assassiné mon pere*,' and policy alone has obliged me to employ him, although I wish him dead, and in a short time will send him about his business.'—Alexander and the king of Prussia," continued he, "dined with me every day, and in order to pay a compliment to A******, it was my intention, on the day the conversation took place, to have asked B**** to dinner, as commander-in-chief of the army. This displeased A———, who, although he asked B**** to his own table, did not wish me to do so, because it would have raised him so high in the eyes of the Russians. Paul," continued he, "was murdered by B****, O****, P***, and others. A Cossack, in whom Paul had confidence, used to sleep at his door. The conspirators came up and demanded entrance; this the Cossack refusing, they fell upon him, and despatched him after a desperate resistance. Paul, who was in bed, hearing the noise, got out, and endeavoured to escape to the empress's apartments. Unluckily for himself, a day or two before, he, in his suspicions, had ordered the door of communication to be closed up. He then went and concealed himself in a press; in the meanwhile the conspirators broke open the door, but, perceiving there was no one in the bed, they exclaimed, 'We are lost! he has escaped.' P***, feeling the bedclothes, said, 'The nest is warm, the bird cannot be far off.' When they had found and dragged Paul out of his hiding-place, they presented him a paper, containing his abdication: he refused at first; but said he would abdicate if they would re

lease him. They then seized, knocked him down, and tried to suffocate him. Paul made a desperate resistance, when, fearful lest assistance should arrive, B**** despatched him, by stamping his heel into his eyes, and thus beating his brains out, while the others held him down. Paul, in his struggles for life, once got B****'s heel into his mouth, and bit a piece out of his skin."

Napoleon said, that he and the emperor Paul had been on the best terms together. At the time of his murder, he had concerted a plan with him for an expedition to India, and he would certainly have prevailed upon him to carry it into execution. Paul wrote to Napoleon very often, and at great length. His first communication was curious and original. "Citizen first consul," he had written to him with his own hand, "I do not discuss the merits of the rights of man; but when a nation places at its head a man of distinguished merit, and worthy of esteem, it has a government; and France has henceforth one in my eyes."

When Napoleon was in Syria, he noticed the thievery and impudence of a little Chinese, who was one of his servants: he was a deformed dwarf, whom Josephine once took a fancy to at Paris, and was generally placed behind her carriage. She took him to Italy, but his constant habit of pilfering made her wish to get rid of him. It was on this account he was taken with the Egyptian expedition, and as a lift to him half way on his journey home. This little monster was intrusted with the care of the emperor's wine cellar, and, after Napoleon had crossed the desert to Syria, it was found that he had sold, at a very low price, 2000 bottles of delicious claret. He thought that Napoleon would

never come back. The robbery was so glaring, that he was forced to confess it, and Napoleon was much urged to have him hanged; but he refused; because, in every sense of justice, he ought to have done as much to those knaves in embroidered clothes, who had knowingly bought and drank the wine. He therefore contented himself with discharging him, and sending him to Suez, where he was at liberty to do as he pleased.

On the 14th of December this year, the ill-advised expedition against the blacks at St. Domingo, sailed from France under Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, consisting of twenty-five ships of war, &c., having on board 25,000 men, commanded by General Leclerc, brother-in-law to the first consul. The result of this, and the fate of the black chief Toussaint, are too well known. It is but justice to add, that the sending of this army to St. Domingo was feelingly regretted by Napoleon during his exile. His neglect to declare St. Domingo free, and acknowledge the black government, he confessed as a great oversight. Possibly he might also have been touched with the fate of Toussaint and his family; but he said, that, after the peace of Amiens, he was continually beset with applications from the proprietors of estates in the colony, French merchants and others, and was obliged to comply with them.

The first consul, observing that Switzerland had for two years past been a prey to different factions, and that the ancient constitution of the Swiss, the first model of a free constitution in Europe, had been replaced by the attempts of several factions, each more monstrous than its predecessor, excited two members of the Helvetic directory, M. M. Dolder and Savary, to bring about a revolution of the same

kind as that of the 18th of Brumaire in France, in 1795. The hall of the sittings of the Swiss legislative body was accordingly surrounded, and the two dictators announced that this assembly was dissolved; and further, the constitution, as it then stood, was declared null and void. A provisional senate was then organized, consisting of twenty-five members, who were to co-operate with M. M. Dolder and Savary in settling a new form of government for Helvetia. In a letter addressed to the French envoy, M. Verninac, they declared the sole object of this political movement was to second the wishes of the people of Switzerland, in whose welfare the first consul of France had condescended to take a lively interest, and to open them a way towards that moderation and wisdom, by which France had been enabled to ensure her tranquillity at home, and her prosperity abroad. However, no sooner had the French troops been withdrawn from the democratic cantons, than the inhabitants rose in arms, and, obtaining possession of the cities of Zurich, Berne, and Fribourg, appointed Aloys Reding, a man of commanding talents, the chief of the insurrection.

Much negotiation ensued, but the most unanswerable reply to all the remonstrances of the divided Swiss, was found in the introduction of a French army of thirty thousand men, under General Ney, into the Swiss territory.

On the 10th of December, 1801, Bonaparte communicated his plan of a government to fifty-six Swiss deputies, to which it was in vain to offer any opposition; the Helvetic troops were passed into the service of France; and the landamman, Louis D'Aufry, issued a proclamation, informing them that

they were received into the armies of the first consul, under whose paternal care they would forget their past sufferings. An address of thanks was also voted by the Diet to Bonaparte, on the ground "that he had restored to them their ancient constitution, the only one adapted to their wants, or consistent with the wishes of the people."

CHAPTER XI.

Assembly of the Consulta at Lyons—Ambition of Bonaparte—Negotiations with the British Cabinet—Treaty of Amiens—Bonaparte's Character of Marquis Cornwallis—Napoleon assumes the Title of Grand Pacificator—Remarks on the Conduct of Mr. Pitt—Treaty with Spain—Effects of Bonaparte's Elevation—Napoleon voted Consul for Life—New French Constitution—Legion of Honour—Concordate with the Pope—Bonaparte's Powers of Persuasion—Mr. Fox's Reception in France—Disagreement between France and England—Effects of the French Revolution.

One of the first public acts of the year 1802, calculated for the aggrandizement of the first consul, was the assembling of the Grand Consulta of the Cisalpine republic at Lyons. Here a new constitution was hastily formed, and the name was changed from the Cisalpine to that of the Italian republic.

The ambition of Bonaparte had doubtless been the grand stimulus on this occasion. The independence of the Cisalpine republic had been an express article in the treaty of Luneville; but even pending the consequent negotiations, the first consul set off for Lyons on the 9th of January, to meet the Cisalpine deputies whom he had summoned there, accompanied by Josephine, M. Chaptal, minister of the interior, and other persons belonging to his court. But, though he entered Lyons at ten o'clock on the night of the 11th, he was received with great parade, being met by a guard of honour, formed of the young men of the best families. Bonaparte dreaded the loss of the influence he had acquired in Italy, which might probably open

the way to the return of the Austrian government. He therefore resolved upon forming the government of the Cisalpine republic in such a manner, that it should always be dependent upon France, or rather upon him. The provisional government that he had established at Milan, at his instigation, now passed a decree, appointing the convocation of an extraordinary assembly at Lyons, charged with forming new bases for the Cisalpine republic, under the auspices, and in the presence of the first magistrate of the French republic. But, though it appeared ridiculous to assemble the representatives of a nation on any other soil than their own, to deliberate upon the formation of a constitution, such was the enthusiasm with which Bonaparte had inspired them, that several of the most considerable persons among the Cisalpines contended for the honour of making a part of this *consulta*, or constituent assembly, consisting of four hundred and fifty-two members.

He assisted at the first sitting, in a tribune placed opposite the chair of the president, ornamented with trophies of arms, commemorating his victories obtained in Italy and Egypt. The Tiber and the Nile were seen at the feet of the conqueror, and above him a heaven without clouds. A committee of thirty-five members, appointed by scrutiny, presented to the assembly the project of a constitution, which was adopted almost without discussion. This precipitate act established a legislative corps, a council of state, and a president of the republic, in whom alone the executive power should reside. In communicating this project to the assembly, the committee announced, that circumstances appeared too alarming to them, to permit the new state to

exist without foreign aid; they therefore thought it necessary to request that General Bonaparte would so far honour the Cisalpine republic, as to continue to govern it, by associating it with the direction of affairs in France, till it should be acknowledged by all the other powers of Europe.

Melzi was vice-president, Guicciardi secretary of state, Spannochi grand judge. Lastly, that the day should terminate with something like feeling, as well as solemnity, Bonaparte invited the ex-count Melzi to come and sit by him; when, embracing, the president, the assembly was visibly affected. Melzi was the descendant of a noble family, and one of the most considerable personages in the ancient dutchy of Milan, but had always been a strenuous opposer of Bonaparte, whom he suspected and loudly censured, on account of his ambitious views. The first consul, having thus terminated this business to his satisfaction, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 30th of January, and was received with those acclamations that always attended his entry into that capital.

But it appears that none of the political intrigues or negotiations, in which Bonaparte engaged, had in the least degree allayed his ardent desire for concluding a peace with England. Conformably to the fifteenth article of the preliminaries that had been signed at London, in October, 1801, the French, English, Dutch, and Spanish plenipotentiaries repaired to Amiens, and were seriously engaged in negotiating a peace, intended to fix the stability of Europe. Even at this time, the possession of the island of Malta, fated to prove the cause of the renewal of the war, proved such an obstacle, as to occupy the negotiators two months,

before they could come to an agreement as to what power should be put in possession of the object of debate. At length, however, the definitive treaty of peace between the French republic and the other powers, was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March, 1802; viz. by Joseph Bonaparte on the part of France, Marquis Cornwallis for England, the Chevalier Azzara for Spain, and M. de Schimmelpennick for Holland.

The tribute paid to the noble Marquis Cornwallis on this occasion, when Napoleon was afterwards an exile at St. Helena, is expressed in the most grateful terms. He described him as a man of probity, a generous and sincere character, "*Un très brave homme.*" "He was," said Napoleon, "the man who first gave me a good opinion of the English:" his integrity, fidelity, frankness, and the nobleness of his sentiments, impressed Napoleon with a very favourable opinion of our nation: he recollected Cornwallis saying, "There are certain qualities which may be bought; but a good character, sincerity, and a proper pride, and calmness in the hour of danger, are not to be purchased." Napoleon gave him a regiment of cavalry to amuse himself with whilst at Amiens. The officers esteemed him much. He never broke his word. At Amiens the treaty was ready, and was to be signed by him at the Hotel de Ville, at nine o'clock: something happened which prevented him from going; but he sent word to the French ministers, that they might consider the treaty as having been signed, and that he would actually sign it on the following day. A courier from England arrived at night, with instructions to him to refuse his assent to certain articles; but Cornwallis was a man of such strict honour

that he wrote to his government that he had promised, and that, having once pledged his word, he would keep it; that, if they were not satisfied, they might refuse to ratify the treaty. Bonaparte added that he was much grieved to hear of the marquis's death; that some of his friends occasionally wrote to him, to request favours for prisoners in France, which he always granted.

The treaty of Amiens, which consolidated the colossal power of Bonaparte, by conferring upon him the title of the Grand Pacificator, was not received with such joy in England as in France. The new acquisitions of the French republic appeared to the eyes of the discontented English in the shape of usurpations or concessions, which Lord Cornwallis was by no means authorized to sanction. The circumstance that seemed the most surprising in France was, that Mr. Pitt, then no longer in the ministry, defended the treaty of Amiens with his usual eloquence. He said he had thought, and he still thought, that the restoration of monarchy in France would be a happy event, both for that country and for Europe; but as this object could not be obtained, his government, he thought, should avail itself of that which was actually within its reach, and take into consideration the present state of the two countries; as the losses of France in its population, its capital, and its industry; and to balance these with the advantages that England had acquired; as the union with Ireland; the increased reputation of the arms of England upon sea and land; the consolidation of the empire of the Indies, and the unexampled progress of commerce.

In March, Bonaparte announced to his good city of Paris his treaty with Spain, by which Louisiana

was given up to the French republic, together with the dutchy of Parma, and the isle of Elba. Bonaparte's return from Lyons was announced in the metropolis by repeated discharges of cannon,—a circumstance the more remarkable, as none of the ancient *regime* ever required such a compliment in the height of their prosperity.

This personal elevation seemed tc have had a visible effect upon Bonaparte about this time, as it was observed that he assumed a greater degree of reserve, keeping not only his general officers, but his intimate acquaintance, more at a distance than ever. Even in his legislative councils, he began to display some arbitrary feelings; and by that regulation which caused one-fifth of the legislative body to go out annually by ballot, he contrived tc get rid of considerable opposition. He had even the temerity to proscribe Chenier, the poet, who had been the author of one of the most popular songs in France, during the revolution, the famous Marsellois Hymn. Chenier, in fact, wrote most of the revolutionary songs at an early period, and greatly contributed to the animation of the public spirit; he was therefore considered as a dangerous person; as was also Benjamin Constant, a persuasive orator, and known to be a man favourable to peace, but such a peace that should be followed by civil liberty, instead of military despotism. Hence many of the republican legislators began to perceive, that any opposition offered to Napoleon must be attended with the loss of their situations and salaries.

On the 6th of May, 1802, the definitive treaty of Amiens was presented to the French tribunate, on which occasion a proposition was made in that assembly, to confer some striking mark of the public

gratitude on the "Great Pacificator." This proposal was agreed to, and having received the concurrence of the other constituent bodies, the senate, on the 8th, declared the re-election of Bonaparte to the consular dignity for ten years, succeeding the term for which he had been already chosen. When this proposal was communicated to the first consul, he declared that "it was the suffrages of the people that invested him with the chief magistracy, and that he should not consider himself secure of possessing their confidence, if the act for retaining him in that situation should not be ratified by the public voice." In compliance with his wish, registers were opened in the different departments, for inscribing the suffrages of the citizens; but the question was materially *changed;* it now stood, "Shall Bonaparte be elected first consul for life?" —A second question was subjoined; "Shall Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?"—Both questions were carried by an immense majority: 3,577,259 citizens voted in the affirmative, and 9074 in the negative. In the tribunate, only one dissentient voice was heard, that of Carnot, the minister at war. It was also opposed in the senate by Garat, Sieyes, Gregoire, and Lanjunais.

In pursuance of the plan proposed by the first consul, a new constitution was soon after laid before the legislative body. It was finally arranged, and accepted in the course of a single sitting, and immediately proclaimed to the people. The consuls were appointed for life. The first consul was to present the names of the other two to the senate, who might reject the first and second so offered, but must accept the third presentation. The

first consul was to name his successor, and to have the power of pardoning in all cases; of making war and peace; and to prescribe to the senate such subjects only that they might deliberate upon.

To this oligarchal assembly also belonged the power of suspending the functions of juries; of proclaiming departments out of the protection of the law; of determining when persons arrested in extraordinary cases were to be brought before the tribunals; of dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate.

The first consul, further considering his authority incomplete, whilst any power was left in the state that did not immediately emanate from himself, and ever anxious to aggrandize the army, now determined upon the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the Legion of Honour. To this the legislature agreed, and that it should be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration. Each cohort was to consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. He was always to be chief of the legion, and of the council of administration, and the members were to be appointed for life. The pay of each grand officer was to be five thousand francs, and of each legionary two hundred and fifty. All military men, who had received arms of honour, were members, as well as those citizens who had rendered eminent services to the state in the late war, or who had caused the government to be respected. Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the first consul, was elected grand master of this new order; and, the more fully to rivet the interest of the government, the members of the grand

council of the legion of honour were appointed members of the senate. In fact, to depress the authority of the legislative body, founded, though imperfectly, on the principle of representation, and to exalt the senate, who depended chiefly on the choice and nomination of the first consul, were the principal objects of Napoleon, by which political liberty was in a great measure annihilated.

This acquisition of the consulship for life, and the terms obtained by the concordate with the pope, had filled the minds of the people at large with sensations of pride and gratitude. A new pontiff had been invested with the purple, as head of the Romish church, on the 13th of March, 1800: Chiaramonti, the pope elect, took the name of Pius VII., and owed his promotion in a great measure to the influence which the first consul had exercised in the conclave. It seemed that he was inclined to take the conduct of one of his predecessors, Benedict XIV., as the model for his own. He sent Cardinal Gonsalvi into France, to negotiate a concordate upon bases a little less *ultramontaine* than those of the famous concordate agreed to by Francis I. and Pope Leo X.

On the 15th of July, 1801, a convention was signed by Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the consul, and the two representatives of the holy see, Cardinal Gonsalvi and Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth. This treaty, which had been kept secret by both parties, caused the re-opening of the churches, and was made public in Paris at the same time as the treaty of Amiens, being solemnly promulgated on Easter day, by sound of trumpets and several discharges of artillery. The pomp of such a religious ceremony in a city where nothing of the

kind had been witnessed for many years, and the brilliant procession, in which the pope's legate figured with the first consul, collected innumerable spectators, who could not conceal the pleasure they felt in this partial restoration of the religion of their fathers.

The answer given by Bonaparte to the message from the conservative senate, announcing the prolongation of his consulship for ten years, contained expressions in some degree prophetic: "Fortune," said he, "has smiled upon the republic; but Fortune is inconstant: how many men, upon whom she has heaped her favours, have not lived too long by some years! The interest of my glory and happinesss seems to have marked the period of my public life, at the moment when the peace of the world is proclaimed: but you think that I owe the nation a new sacrifice; I will make it, if the wishes of the people correspond with the command authorized by your suffrages."

This personal elevation had its ample share in contributing to the number of Bonaparte's enemies. In fact, it does in some measure appear astonishing, how any individual could persuade a whole nation, day after day, to yield him up such a portion of their rights and privileges. However, among many instances that might be adduced of Napoleon's power of persuasion, one that occurred about this period is not the least remarkable.

In the beginning of the summer of 1802, some officers of rank, enthusiastic republicans, took considerable umbrage at Bonaparte's conduct, and determined to go and remonstrate with him upon the points that had given them offence, and to speak their minds to him very freely. In the evening of

the same day, one of the party gave the following account of the interview:

"I do not know whence it arises, but there is a charm about that man, which is indescribable and irresistible. I am no admirer of his; I dislike the power to which he has risen: yet I cannot help confessing, that there is something in him which seems to speak him born to command. We went into his apartment, determined to declare our minds to him; to expostulate with him warmly, and not to depart till our subjects of complaint were removed. But in his manner of receiving us there was a certain *je ne sais quoi*, which disarmed us in a moment; nor could we utter one word of what we had intended to say. He talked to us for a long time, with an eloquence peculiarly his own, explaining, with the utmost clearness and precision, the necessity for steadily pursuing the line of conduct he had adopted, and, without contradicting us in direct terms, controverted our opinion so ably, that we had not a word to say in reply; so that we left him, having done nothing else but listen to him, instead of expostulating with him; and fully convinced, at least for the moment, that he was in the right, and that we were in the wrong."

During the summer of 1802, Paris was visited by a very great number of Englishmen of rank and distinction, and, among the rest, by Mr. Fox, who was received by the first consul, and indeed by the whole French nation, with the highest marks of honour and respect. His arrival in France was announced in the Moniteur: even at Calais, Mr. and Mrs. Fox were waited on by the municipality in their scarfs, when, after expressing his congratula-

tions, the mayor inquired of Mrs. Fox, if they would order any particular play for the evening. At Lisle, Mr. Fox experienced similar attentions, the theatre being illuminated for his reception. At Paris, crowds hastened to hail him: he here received addresses from all the learned and public bodies; he was visited by persons of the greatest celebrity; and his reception at the new French court was perfectly flattering. To talk of Mr. Fox was not enough: it became the rage with the Parisians to imitate his speaking, his dress, his manners, his looks, his habits, and even his dinners. It was the fashion to be a thinking man—to think like Mr. Fox! Not only among statesmen and generals was Mr. Fox distinguished, and his society courted; he attracted every eye at the opera; his picture was in every window, and medallions bore his likeness; while the enchanting Madame Recamier, constant in her attentions to him, whirled or paraded him through the whole circle of beaux and elegantes.—"Come," said she, "I must keep my promise, and show you on the promenade. The people of Paris must always have a spectacle: before you came, *I* was the fashion; it is a point of honour, therefore, that I should not appear jealous of you. You must attend me, sir."

Whatever were his intentions, Bonaparte therefore enjoyed the satisfaction of knowing that he had secured his object. Mr. Fox, we are assured, always recalled this period of his life with satisfaction. "Bonaparte," observed Mr. Fox, after their interviews together, "is a man as magnificent in his means, as in his ends; he is a most decided character, and will hold his purpose with more constancy, and through a longer interval than is im-

agined; his views are not directed to this kingdom; he looks only to the continent. His commercial enmity is but a temporary measure, and never intended to be acted upon as permanent policy."—"I never saw," added Mr. Fox, on another occasion, "so little indirectness in any statesman as in the first consul. He made no secret of his designs."

Napoleon, during his residence at St. Helena, having occasion to speak of Mr. Fox, which he did in very warm terms, mentioned the cordial reception he met with in France, and related, that one day Mr. Fox went with his family to see St. Cloud, where there was a private cabinet, which had not been opened for some time, and was never shown to strangers. By some accident, Fox and his wife opened the door and entered. There he saw the statues of a number of great men, chiefly patriots, such as Sydney, Hampden, Washington, Cicero, Lord Chatham, and, among the rest, his own, which was first recognised by his wife, who said, "My dear, this is yours!" This little incident, though trifling, gained Fox great honour, and spread directly through Paris.

Unfortunately for the continuance of the promised happiness of this period, the war of *words*, which finally led to a rupture of the peace of Amiens, commenced soon after the treaty had been signed. On the 4th of June, 1802, a despatch from Mr. Merry, the British minister at Paris, was received by Lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state, stating that M. Talleyrand had complained to him of the countenance given by the British court to the French princes, the *ci-devant* French bishops; to Georges, and other individuals inimical to the French

government; that it was the first consul's wish that the British government should remove those persons out of the British dominions; and he thought the residence of Louis XVIII., then at Warsaw, was the proper place for the rest of the family. M. Talleyrand added, that the first consul solicited no more than the British government had demanded of France when the pretender resided in that country.

In the month of July, M. Otto, the French minister at London, transmitted a note to Lord Hawkesbury, demanding, in the name of his government, the punishment of M. Peltier, for a gross libel which he had published on the first consul and the whole French nation. He also complained of the libellous paragraphs in the *Courier de Londres*, a French paper published in London, and others by Mr. Cobbett, &c.

In September, the senatus consultum at Paris passed an act, by which Piedmont was formally united to France. It was divided into six departments; the Sezia, the Po, the Doria, the Stura, the Tanaro, and the Marengo.

In the month of October, a despatch from Mr. Liston, dated from the Hague, was addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, complaining that a French corps of ten or eleven thousand men, who were to have been withdrawn from Holland on the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain, still remained there. As to the guarantees for Malta, in case of our giving it up, there also seemed to be no small reluctance in Prussia and Russia. In the mean time Lord Whitworth had repaired to Paris, in the capacity of British minister at the court of the Tuilleries. and M. Otto was superseded by Gen-

eral Andreossi, at the court of St James. Lord Whitworth received a despatch from Lord Hawkesbury, dated November 30, 1802, which related to a complaint made against England, of delaying the fulfilment of one of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, that provides for our evacuation of Egypt. On this subject his lordship was instructed to state, that, although General Stuart had informed Colonel Sebastiani of his inability to leave Egypt till he should receive specific orders for that purpose, yet that this delay had arisen entirely from a misunderstanding on the part of the general: but, to obviate any further difficulties, fresh instructions had been sent to him, directing him to remove the king's troops from that country as soon as possible.

From these, and similar causes of contention still nourished by the enemies of Peace, it was easy to see that her olive branch would not wave much longer over the nations that had scarcely begun to experience her blessings. The interval she had this year introduced, was only a pause between the shocks of an earthquake about to renew its devastation. But even at this period, still distant from the winding up of the catastrophe, Europe had already been shaken to its centre, and whole nations had alternately appeared upon the theatre of war, in consequence of the French revolution, the issue of which had even then baffled all human calculation.

Forced to entertain fourteen armies at once, to oppose a proportionate resistance to the enemy's preparations, France was compelled to search for men capable of commanding amongst her own population. They appeared as soon as called for, and, spreading themselves wherever the flames of war were lighted up, they every where performed

prodigies. As victories became more frequent, bravery, excited by emulation, became more brilliant; and the battles, in which the greatest number of warriors were engaged, were of the most sanguinary description. The French armies, that fought at great distances from each other, animated their own courage by the communication of the details of their mutual success, which, in an energetic manner, they then called exchanging victories. From this reciprocal ambition of glory, and the general concourse of so many minds, excited by military enthusiasm, the natural result of all was, what actually happened, a general agitation throughout Europe.

The memory of any invasion of territory upon a grand scale had been lost in Europe for a considerable period. But the French revolution, in breaking the bands that had united the various states, at once destroyed that equilibrium that the different courts had established at so great an expense, and in which their principal safety consisted. United against France alone, these same courts gave a fatal example to the great nation they wished to punish, and which inspired it with a wish for vengeance, that for a long time remained unallayed.

The French nation, irritated by the efforts made to compress it within narrower limits, caused its armies to overrun several countries at once, and they seemed resolved not to lay down their arms till they should have converted their vanquished foes into friends or subjects. Such a system, followed up with such obstinacy that nothing but the force of the elements could prevent its entire developement, could not but produce those unexpected revolutions, which all at once transformed the

face of several states. In fact, what epoch was ever so fruitful in great changes? When did the fortune of war exercise a more powerful influence, or give place to so many political vicissitudes? Some nations were expunged from the map of Europe; great states were weakened; thrones overturned; republics established, and kingdoms created; princes became obscure individuals, and obscure individuals became princes and kings. All the ancient social relations were destroyed; constitutions abolished or modified; a new direction given to commerce, and an immense spring communicated to every branch of civilization, in the midst of a general war, without end or object.

Such was the spectacle worthy the observation of all ages, which the astonishing events of the French revolution presented, in its rise and progress.

Torn by this intestine war, and at the same time attacked by all the powers of Europe, France, after the battle of Neerwinden, saw foreign armies suddenly precipitating themselves upon her territory like a torrent. What energy must not those men have possessed, who did not despair of saving the country at such a moment as this! But, notwithstanding this danger, new armies were organized, and for a long time sustained the struggle with great loss. French soldiers seemed to derive advantages from defeats. Generals were formed in the art of commanding and manœuvring upon their own frontiers. At length, the battles of Hondschoot and Watigney were gained; the lines of Weissemburg were forced, and the victory of Fleurus opened to the French a career of victory, which was only suspended by the treaty of Amiens in 1802.

CHAPTER XII.

Symptoms of an approaching Rupture—A Despatch from Lord Whitworth—Philippic against English Newspapers—Malta—Report of the French Colonel Sebastianion the State of Egypt—Pacific Disposition of Mr. Fox—Assassins sent from England to France—Proposal made to the King of France at Warsaw—Dignified Answer—Lord Whitworth's Interviews with the First Consul—Veracity of Lord Whitworth's Statements of Bonaparte's Conversation strongly impeached—Negotiations at Paris—Arrival of Lord Whitworth from Paris—Commencement of Hostilities, and Seizure of British Subjects in France—French Declaration—Invasion of Hanover—Blockade of the Elbe and the Weser.

Even previous to the commencement of this year, peace might have been seen gradually vanishing from the clouded hemisphere of politics; but now, of its final departure very little doubt remained. A despatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, 27th of January, consisted of the report of a conversation that had taken place on the Tuesday evening preceding, relative to two points equally important to the maintenance of a good understanding between the two countries. This occurred between Lord Whitworth and M. Talleyrand, who pronounced a most bitter philippic against English newspapers, and assured Lord Whitworth that the first consul was extremely hurt to find that his endeavours to conciliate, had hitherto produced no other effect than to increase their abuse. To this his lordship replied, that whatever was said in the English papers might be considered as a retaliation for what was published in those of France. Secondly, that what was offi-

cially published in that country was by no means so in England; that the English government could not have any similar control over the papers, as the first consul had in France; and that till he could so far master his feelings, as to be indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, this state of irritation must remain without a remedy. On the subject of the evacuation of Malta, the French minister said, another grand master would soon be elected, and that all the guarantees were ready, excepting those of Russia, whose scruples on that point would be easily overcome; consequently, the time would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for retaining possession of Malta. To this Lord Whitworth replied, that he would report this conversation to the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, and would communicate the answer to the French minister, as soon as it was received.

In this answer the British minister was directed to reply, "That the late treaty of peace was negotiated on a basis not merely proposed by his majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French government, viz. that his majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests, for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the continent; and that his majesty was warranted in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His majesty, however, anxious to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding, was willing to have waived the pretensions he might have of this nature, if the notice of his government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to

the first consul. His majesty, therefore, could not regard the conduct of the French government on various occasions, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it would be impossible for him to enter into any further discussions relative to Malta, unless he should obtain satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

The report of Colonel Sebastiani, inserted in the Moniteur of the 30th of January, consists of observations made in the discharge of a mission, undertaken by order of the French government, to the principal cities of Syria and Egypt. The remarks of the colonel are more military than commercial.

Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, seemed to think, that, had Fox lived, there would have been a peace, and that England would have been contented and happy. "He was," said he, "received with a sort of triumph in every city in France, through which he passed. *Fêtes*, and every honour the inhabitants could confer, were spontaneously offered wherever he was known. It must have been a most gratifying sensation to him, to be received in such a manner by a country which had been so long hostile to his own, particularly when he saw that they were the genuine sentiments of the people. Pitt, probably, would have been murdered. I liked Fox, and loved to converse with him."

Napoleon recounted the noble manner in which Mr. Fox had related to him the proposal made to assassinate him while he was in the administration, which generous act Bonaparte did not fail to compare with the treatment he received at St. Helena, and with the attempts made upon his life by hired wretches in 1803, who were landed in France by

British ships of war. He also mentioned what many persons well remember, viz. that his assassination had been recommended in the English ministerial newspapers of the time as a meritorious action.

Alluding to these assassins, Napoleon said, "They had republished in London, at the same time, a pamphlet, called '*Killing no Murder*,' which had been originally printed in Cromwell's time, for the purpose of inculcating a belief that assassinating me was a praiseworthy and meritorious action, and by no means a crime. Fox, indeed, was of a contrary opinion. That great man wrote to Talleyrand, and informed him that a *coquin* (a scoundrel) had applied to him in London, with a proposal to assassinate me."

On the 26th of February, 1803, a personage of prominent distinction, employed by high authority, waited on the king of France at Warsaw, and verbally made to his majesty, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time the most urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive, the most astonishing proposal to renounce the throne of France, and to require the same renunciation on the part of all the members of the Bourbon family: the envoy moreover observed, that, as a price of this sacrifice, Bonaparte would secure indemnities to his majesty, and even a splendid establishment. His majesty, strongly animated by that sentiment which is never obliterated from elevated minds, immediately wrote the following answer, which he delivered on the 28th of February, to the person who was deputed to him.

ANSWER OF THE KING.

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour and his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims; for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what may have been the intention of the Almighty, respecting my race and myself, but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me, by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St. Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example, by respecting myself, even in captivity and in chains. As successor of Francis the First, I shall at least aspire to say with him, '*We have lost every thing but our honour.*'

(Signed) "LOUIS."

On the 2d of March, the king wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructing him to make known the same to the princes of the blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it who did not reside in that country. On the 22d of April, Monsieur called a meeting of the princes, who, with equal alacrity and unanimity, signed an

adhesion to the answer of the king, of the 28th of February.

This overture left no doubt on the minds of persons of discernment, that Bonaparte, having determined to extinguish even the name of republic in France, aspired to the imperial purple; and the events which rapidly succeeded confirmed what at first appeared to be mere conjecture.

But to return to the complaints respecting Malta, and other obstacles to the continuance of peace on the part of Great Britain. It appears that, on the 18th of March, Lord Whitworth received a message from the first consul, requesting to see him at the Tuilleries. At this interview, Bonaparte entered into a heated expostulation respecting the provocations he had received from England; and principally he complained of the non-evacuation of Malta, and of the abuse thrown cut against him in the English papers. He said, "he would rather see Britain in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than of Malta." In speaking of Egypt, he said, that, if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending 25,000 men to Aboukir. "This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it for a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war: sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte."—"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition."—He acknowl-

edged there were a hundred chances to one against him, but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion. He then expatiated on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of 480,000 men—for to this amount it is, said he, to be immediately completed—all ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. The first consul concluded with declaring—"To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the English prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty."

For some days Lord Whitworth had no means of ascertaining the effects produced on the mind of the first consul by his latest communications; but as the court was held at the Tuilleries on Sunday, March 13, his lordship, in his despatch of the 14th, said, "The first consul accosted me evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him I had received letters two days ago. He immediately said, 'And so you are determined to go to war?' 'No,' I replied, 'we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.'—'We have already,' said he, 'waged war these fifteen years.'—As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed, 'That is already too long.'—'But,' said he, 'you wish me to carry

it on for fifteen years more, and you compel me to it.'—I told him that was very far from his majesty's intention. He then proceeded to Count Marcoff, and the Chevalier Azzara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, 'The English wish for war; but if they be the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it. They pay no regard to treaties. We must henceforth cover treaties with black crape.'—He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by saying something personally civil to me—'Why these armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France; but if you will arm, I must arm too: if you will go to war, I must go to war also. You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but not to intimidate her.'—'We desire,' said I, 'neither the one nor the other. We wish to live in good understanding with her.' 'It is requisite, then, to pay regard to treaties—wo to those who pay no regard to treaties: they shall be responsible to all Europe.'—All this passed loud enough to be heard by two hundred people who were present."

Lord Whitworth added his persuasion, "that there was not a single person in the room, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of Bonaparte's conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on this occasion."

M. Talleyrand, in answer to Lord Whitworth's representation on this treatment, assured him it was far from the first consul's wish to distress him; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges brought against him by the English gov-

ernment, and it was incumbent on him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe.

But when Napoleon, during his exile, was questioned as to the *manner* in which this famous interview with Lord Whitworth was carried on, he answered, "I was by no means violent. Lord Whitworth said, on leaving the room, that he was well satisfied with me, and contented with the manner in which I had treated him, and hoped that all would go on well. This he said to some of the ambassadors of the other powers. A few days afterwards, when the English newspapers arrived with his account of the interview, stating that I had been in such a rage, it excited the astonishment of every body, especially of those ambassadors, who remonstrated with him, and said, 'My lord, how can this account be correct? You know that you allowed to us that you were well contented and satisfied with your reception, and stated your opinion, that all would go on well.'—He did not know what to answer, and said, 'But this account is also true!'"

Another anecdote related of Lord Whitworth by Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, seems to possess a still less portion of credibility; "Two days before Lord Whitworth left Paris, an offer was made to the French minister, and others about Bonaparte, of thirty millions of francs, and to acknowledge him as king of France, provided he would give up his claims upon Malta to England!"

Still the British ambassador was not withdrawn; but carried on negotiations till his government proceeded so far as to require the cession of Malta by the French, when the ambassador was told, that no

consideration on earth would induce the first consul to consent to the cession of Malta in perpetuity, in any shape whatever. This was given up by the British minister, who gave his consent to hold Malta for a certain number of years to be agreed upon, provided the island of Lampedosa could be obtained of the king of Sardinia. Lord Whitworth then begged M. Talleyrand to consider that England was actually in possession of Malta, and that therefore every modification, tending to limit that, was, in fact, a concession on the part of his Britannic majesty.

This argument, so nearly allied to an insult, coming from the mouth of an ambassador, was little calculated to soften the untoward disposition of the first consul. Accordingly, on the next day, M. Talleyrand was instructed to declare, that the first consul "would on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary possession of Malta, (for ten years,) and that, rather than submit to such an arrangement, he would even consent to our keeping it for ever; on the ground that, in the one case, there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity; but in the other, nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion; that, therefore, his resolution was taken, and what he had to propose was, the possession we required of the island of Lampedosa, or any of the other small isles, of which there are three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa, sufficient for a station in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and security for any squadron we might find it convenient to keep in that sea."

In a third conversation, that took place on Saturday the 23d of April, but with no material variation, the French minister offered Lampedosa, and

Lord Whitworth peremptorily required the formal cession of Malta. On the 26th of April, Lord Whitworth communicated the *ultimatum* of the English court *verbally* to M. Talleyrand, who desired to have it stated in writing; but to this Lord Whitworth strangely replied, "he had no authority to do so, and he would not take the responsibility upon himself." The French minister forcibly, but unavailingly, replied, "that verbal and fugitive conversations were insufficient for the discussion of such immense interests, in which no expression could be indifferent."—He at length, however, consented to receive the verbal notification of Lord Whitworth, who desired M. Talleyrand to recollect, that Tuesday, May 3d, must be the day of his departure.

Lord Whitworth afterwards complained of the delays of the French government; but these were evidently occasioned by his refusal to communicate the *ultimatum* of his court in writing. A mode of proceeding so totally new excited the greatest surprise, when the rupture of a formal treaty was in question, and yet, after several days had been spent in fruitless expectation, the first consul, to show his desire for peace, ordered that the verbal propositions of Lord Whitworth should be replied to in the same manner as if they had been regularly made under the official signature of the ambassador. It also appeared, that the high and haughty spirit of the first consul, moderated, in all probability, by the persuasions of Talleyrand, at length yielded to circumstances; and, no longer insisting on the evacuation of Malta, he was willing to refer the question to the other contracting powers of the treaty of Amiens. The British minister, it seems, had evaded any conclusion respecting the cession

of Malta, under the pretext, conveyed in an official note, that Russia had refused her guarantee, though the emperor of Germany and Prussia still remained as such. This was a false assertion, for, nearly at the same hour, "Providence," Napoleon observed, "which is sometimes pleased to confound bad faith, caused a courier to arrive from Russia, addressed to the plenipotentiaries of that power at Paris, and at London, by which his majesty, the emperor of Russia, manifested, with particular energy, the pain he felt, at learning the resolution of his Britannic majesty to keep Malta. He renewed the assurances of his guarantee, and 'declared that he accepted the demand made of his mediation by the first consul, if both the powers would accede to it.'"

Lord Whitworth, being informed of the misrepresentation of his court, with respect to Russia, without entering into any explanation, or making any endeavour to contradict or discuss this declaration, informed the French minister, that he was ordered to depart within thirty-six hours after the delivery of his last note, and renewed his demand for passports, which were forwarded to him, and he left Paris on the 13th of May, 1803, to return no more.

In England, at this crisis, nothing was hearkened to, which could tend in the least to fix the charge of culpability, or even indiscretion, on ministers. On the contrary, it was gravely and pompously said to be "a war, not for Malta, but for Egypt; not for Egypt, but for India; not for India, but for England;" and such puerilities passed as equivalent to just and logical conclusions. It necessarily follows, that the absolute and peremptory determination of the English government to retain possession of

Malta, in contempt or defiance of the treaty of Amiens, was a flagrant and inexcusable violation of public faith, and resembled the pretext for the memorable war with Holland in 1672.

Thus it will appear, that Malta was made the apple of discord, and the fatal brand, by which the flames of war, scarcely extinguished, were again lighted up.

On the 19th of May, 1803, Lord Whitworth arrived in London from Paris, and, on the day preceding, his Britannic majesty's declaration of war had been issued. The peace of Amiens had continued one year and sixteen days. In the course of a few days after this declaration had appeared, the first consul gave orders for the seizure of all the British subjects in France, and in those countries occupied by the French armies. These persons, it is understood, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular places, as prisoners of war, upon parole; and, according to the words of the first consul's decree, were "to answer for those citizens of the republic, who may have been made prisoners by the subjects of his Britannic majesty previous to any declaration of war." Upwards of 11,000 persons were said to have been arrested in France, in consequence of this unexpected measure. These consisted of many of the nobility, commercial men, and travellers. The seizure of two French merchant vessels in the Bay of Audierne, by two English frigates, was stated as the immediate cause of this retaliating measure. But Napoleon asserted to O'Meara, that there was property to the amount of many millions, (of francs) and above 200 ships seized, before he detained the English in France.

All the French armies were now put in motion: that of Italy was strongly re-enforced; and on the side of Germany they were no less active. A considerable French army was assembled in Holland, and another on the frontiers of Hanover, by which that electorate was soon overrun, notwithstanding the duke of Cambridge was sent over as commander-in-chief. The proclamations he issued there, calling upon all the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, to rally round the standard of their country, produced no material effect upon the people, who seemed more disposed to listen to the warning voice of the French general, than to the patriotic calls of a British prince. The city of Hanover was occupied on the 5th of June, and a decree was soon issued by Bonaparte, prohibiting the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser by the vessels of British merchants, which rivers were soon declared in a state of blockade by the English. In the month of September, several towns on the French coast were bombarded, particularly Dieppe and Granville, as were also the Dutch ports from the Zandvoort, in the vicinity of Haerlem, to Schevenmgen, and many vessels destroyed.

CHAPTER XIII.

Annual French Exposé—Discovery of the Plot of Pichegru and Georges—Case of Captain Wright—Napoleon's own Account of the Conspiracy—Defence of the Execution of the Duke D'Enghien—Duplicity of Talleyrand—Violation of the German Territory—British Envoy charged with traitorous Conduct—Bonaparte proclaimed Emperor of the French—Promotion of great Officers and Generals—Protest of Louis XVIII. —Arrival of the Pope at Paris—Ceremony of Bonaparte's Coronation—M. David's grand Picture—Refusal of the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge Bonaparte as Emperor of France—Preparations for an Invasion of England—Napoleon visits Boulogne—Anecdote.

THE French legislative body was assembled on the 7th of January, 1804, and on the 16th the annual *exposé* of the state of the republic was submitted to that assembly. This was the last publication in which the ruler of France was to be contemplated as a citizen, giving an account to his fellow-citizens of the origin and success of his measures; but this represented the state of the republic in the most captivating colours. This *exposé* was designed to show, that the war had not even interrupted the plans marked out for a time of peace: the construction of roads, bridges and harbours, as well as the promotion of all objects of a similar nature, proceeded with undiminished zeal and activity. The finances were described as being in the most prosperous situation. The revenues were collected with unprecedented facility, and public credit had maintained itself against the shocks of war. In Hanover, success had invariably at-

tended the French troops; the Hanoverian army, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, had laid down their arms, and the cavalry of the republic had been remounted, at the expense of a possession dear to the king of England. It was in conclusion declared, that France would never acknowledge less advantageous conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens; that the most perfect harmony subsisted with the United States, Helvetia, Italy, and the Ottoman empire; and that the tranquillity given to the continent by the treaty of Luneville was secured and ratified by the proceedings of the diet of Ratisbon.

The public mind being thus prepared to repose implicit confidence in Napoleon's government, an event occurred which materially contributed to accelerate the completion of his projects, and to elevate him to the summit of his ambition. Early in the month of February, a plot was detected, the object of which was the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy were, General Pichegru, Georges, Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, and Lajollais, a confidant of General Moreau. It likewise appeared, to a certain extent, that this general had been made acquainted with Pichegru's views, and that he had held secret meetings with that general, since his return from England to Paris. Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were soon put under an arrest, and the treason against the consular government announced to the republic, in a report to the first consul, made by Regnier, the minister of justice, who ascribed the whole plot to England and her emissaries. On the promulgation of this report, the genius of the

French nation displayed itself in a profusion of legislative propositions, and in copious addresses. The tribunate, the senate, and the legislative body, all vied with each other in terms of courtly adulation, which was followed by the army and navy. To the addresses of felicitation delivered from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, the first consul replied:

"Since I have attained the supreme magistracy, many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded dangers, which gave me no fear. But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this plot had been successful; for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people, that the conspiracy was formed. I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate, and the will of the French people, have imposed upon me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it will be useful for the nation; but I wish the French people to understand, that existence, without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and for them have no object."

Connected with this conspiracy was the case of Captain Wright, who died in the prison of the Temple, to which Pichegru had also been committed: both these officers were for some time supposed to have been assassinated privately. Captain Wright, who was cruising in a corvette in the

Bay of Quiberon, was becalmed, and taken by the French gun-boats. He had previously been fellow-prisoner with Sir Sidney Smith, and had served with him in Egypt and Syria. He had unfortunately been accused as the officer who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions, on the coast of France. He was again conveyed to Paris, and immured in the Temple, where he resisted every temptation to disclose the names of the persons by whom he had been employed, and by so doing fell a victim to his sense of honour and fidelity.

The account which Napoleon himself gave of the perpetrators of this conspiracy, at a period when no false colouring could in the least avail him, was as follows:

"In different nights of August, September, and December, 1803, and January, 1804, Captain Wright landed Georges, Pichegru, Riviere, Coster, St. Victor, La Haye, St. Hilaire, and others, at Beville. The latter four had been accomplices in the affair of the infernal machine, and the others were well known as chiefs of the Chouans. Pretending to be smugglers, they concealed themselves by day in lodgings prepared for them, and travelled only in the night. They had plenty of money, and were at Paris some time before they were discovered, though the police knew from Mehée de la Touche, that a plot was going on: this man, though paid as an English spy, informed the French police of all he knew. He had several conferences with Mr. Drake, the British chargé d'affaires at Munich."

When some of the persons who were landed by Wright were taken up and examined it appeared

that one Mussey, who lived at Offenburg along with the duke d'Enghien, was very active in sending money to, and corresponding with, those who had been secretly landed on the coasts. Querel, a surgeon, confessed he had been brought from England in Wright's ship along with Georges and several others, and that Georges was then in Paris, planning the assassination of the first consul.

An emigrant of the name of Bouvet, having hung himself in a state of despondency, was cut down by a gaoler, and, while recovering his senses, burst out in incoherent expressions, saying, Moreau had brought Pichegru from London; that he was a traitor, and had persuaded them all that the army were for him. These expressions excited the attention of the police: they knew that a brother of Pichegru, who had once been a monk, lived in Paris: he was arrested, and acknowledged he had seen his brother a day or two before. Moreau was also arrested. Pichegru was betrayed by one of his old friends, who had what he demanded, a hundred thousand francs. Georges eluded the vigilance of the police nearly three weeks, and was then betrayed and taken, after having shot one of his pursuers. All his accomplices were afterwards apprehended. Pichegru boasted of having been employed by the Bourbons, but afterwards, finding his case desperate, strangled himself in the prison. Georges, Coster, and seven or eight more, were executed. Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment, which was commuted into banishment to America.

By the confession of some of these conspirators, it was discovered that the duke d'Enghien was an accomplice, and only waiting on the frontiers of

France for the assassination of Bonaparte, when he was to have entered France as the king's lieutenant. "Was I," said Bonaparte, "to suffer that the count d'Artois should send a parcel of miscreants to murder me, and that a prince of his house should hover on the borders of the country I governed, to profit by my assassination? According to the laws of nature, I was authorized to have him assassinated, in retaliation for the numerous attempts caused by him to be made upon me. He was seized, brought into France, and condemned by a law made long before I had any power there. He did not deny having borne arms against the republic; he behaved with great fortitude before the tribunal." When he arrived at Strasbourg, he wrote a letter to Napoleon, in which he offered to discover every thing, if pardon were granted to him; said that his family had lost their claims for a long time, and concluded by offering his services to Bonaparte. This letter was delivered to Talleyrand, who concealed it till some time after the duke's execution.

Had the count d'Artois been in the duke's place, Bonaparte said he would have suffered the same fate; "and," continued he, "were I *now* placed under similar circumstances, I would act in a similar manner."—The police learned by the means of Mehee's authority, that the duke d'Enghien was concerned in a plot to *terrasser*, viz. overthrow, the *premier consul*, no matter by what means.

While the duke was on his trial, Madame la Marechal Bessieres said to Colonel Ordener, who had arrested him, "Are there no possible means to save that unhappy man? Has his guilt been established beyond a doubt?"—"Madame," replied he, "I found in his house sacks of papers, sufficient

to compromise the half of France." The duke was executed in the morning, and not by torch-light, as has been represented.

After some delay, Moreau was permitted to embark for the United States of America, where he remained till 1813, when the sovereigns of Europe, duly appreciating his talents, called him from exile, and gave him a distinguished rank in their military councils.

The seizure of the duke d'Enghien, beforementioned, took place at Ettenheim, on the Rhine, in the night of the 15th of March, 1804, when Ordener, one of Bonaparte's generals, crossed that river in three divisions. The guards of the elector, finding all resistance useless, opened the gates of Ettenheim, where the French troops seized the duke, and a few old priests and invalids that lived with him, and, putting him in irons, repassed the river, and conveyed him to France.

Another report from the French grand judge, issued soon after, complained that the British minister at the court of Munich was engaged in a conspiracy with persons whose object was to overthrow the government of France; that these agents had been supplied with large sums of money by the British government, which was to be used in gaining over persons employed in the powder-mills in France, and in taking every measure to disorganize the armies.

But neither internal conspiracies nor external wars appear to have diverted the mind of the first consul in the least from prosecuting the schemes of his ambition. To secure himself the permanent exercise of sovereign power, after the chief magistracy had been conferred on him for ten years, he

seemed to think the title of first consul was too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified elevation to which he had been raised. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he really aspired to the imperial purple. Thus a soldier of fortune, who, at the commencement of the French revolution, was an obscure individual, serving in the army of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest rank, and, after obtaining the chief authority in the state, was invested with the title of emperor of the French.

The measure of conferring on Bonaparte this rank and title, and making them hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture, was for the first time agitated in the tribunate in the beginning of May, when M. Curée submitted a proposition to that effect. M. Carnot strongly opposed this measure, which, however, was carried on the 3d of May, when the tribunate proceeded to vote

"That Napoleon Bonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic; that the title of emperor, and the imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture; that, in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity."

This decree, being put to the vote, was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the vote of one member, who spoke against its adoption.

On the 18th of May, the senate, in an address

presented to the first consul, entreated him to consent, that, for the glory and happiness of the republic, he might be immediately proclaimed emperor of the French.

After Napoleon had given his consent, the senate was admitted to an audience of her majesty the empress, when the consul Cambaceres addressed her on the part of that body. The *organic senatûs* was then proclaimed by the emperor. His imperial majesty nominated to the dignity of grand elector, Prince Joseph Bonaparte; to that of constable, Prince Louis Bonaparte; to that of arch-chancellor of the empire, the consul Le Brun. The arch-chancellor, the arch-treasurer, the constable, the ministers, the secretary of state, and General Duroc, governor of the imperial palace, took their oaths before the emperor. On the 20th of May the emperor decreed the following generals to be marshals of the empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, and Bessieres. The title of marshal was also given to the senators Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

The question, whether the throne should, or should not, be hereditary, was submitted to the people, who, as might have been expected, decided in the affirmative by an immense majority.

About this time Louis XVIII. issued a protest against Bonaparte's assumption to the imperial title, as well as against all the subsequent acts to which it might give birth. This protest was dated Warsaw.

On the 9th of July, Bonaparte issued an imperial decree, directing that the oath should be taken,

and the coronation ceremonies performed in the Champ de Mars on the 18th Brumaire, or 9th of November, the day on which the power of the Directory had been subverted by Bonaparte, and the consular power established on its ruins.

In order to heighten the solemnity of the occasion, the pope was sent for, and left the Vatican on the 3d of November, accompanied by four cardinals, two archbishops, and a numerous suite. The journey of the sovereign pontiff was distinguished by the homage paid him by the faithful in Italy and France, as head of the church. Having arrived at Fontainebleau on the 25th of November, he was met by Napoleon at a place called *la Croix de St. Herens*, and arrived on the 29th of November at the Tuilleries, where apartments had been prepared for him, escorted by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty hussars, who were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory.

Circumstances arose, which made it necessary to defer the ceremony of the coronation till the 2d of December. Early on the morning of the preceding day, the senate went in a body to the Tuilleries, where they were presented by Joseph Bonaparte. The president, Neufchateau, made a complimentary speech, to which the emperor replied,—"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom from the midst of camps I first saluted with the name of great. From my youth my thoughts have been solely fixed on them; and I must here add, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or

misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and confusion of social order, are the results only of the imbecility and indecision of princes. You senators, whose counsel and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the support and first counsellors of that throne so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The weather on the 2d of December was extremely unfavourable; snow had fallen on the preceding evening, but on the following morning the sun rose extremely bright.

In the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, and of a procession of the most imposing appearance, the pope, Napoleon, and Josephine his spouse, attended the church of Notre Dame, where Pius VII. officiated with all the pomp of the Roman church. The new emperor had presented to the cathedral the sacred vases of vermilion enriched with diamonds, and magnificently ornamented, and generally with every thing necessary for the celebration of the coronation, which was accordingly performed on Sunday the 2d of December, 1804. The military deputations assembled at six in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries invited by the emperor, met at the palace of Justice by seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the senate, the council of state, the legislative body,

and the tribunate, each escorted by a corps of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The pope left the Tuilleries at nine o'clock, and at ten the departure of the emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery. Here we may remark, that never before had a pope been obliged to leave his own dominions for the purpose of crowning either emperor or king. It was reserved for the aspiring Napoleon thus to surpass all other crowned heads, in exacting obedience from the nominal head of the church, to whom all other monarchs had been in the constant habit of doing homage.

The pope and the emperor repaired to the archiepiscopal palace, where his holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the emperor put on the imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church of Notre Dame. The coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were borne before Bonaparte; and he was preceded by Marshal Serrurier, carrying the ring of the empress upon a cushion, and, Marshal Moncey, with a basket to receive the empress's mantle. The empress, with the imperial mantle, was supported by the princesses. Marshal Kellerman carried the crown of Charlemagne; Marshal Perignon his sceptre; General Beauharnois his majesty's ring; Marshal Berthier the imperial globe; and the grand chamberlain the basket to receive the emperor's mantle. Bonaparte then entered the church of Notre Dame.

The imperial throne and the altar were equidistant from the centre of the church. Upon the throne was seated the emperor in his ornaments: the empress, on his right hand, was seated a step lower, in an arm chair. Two steps lower than the

emperor, on the left, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the pope was seated, was raised near the altar. At the moment their majesties entered the porch, the pope descended from his throne, and, advancing to the altar, sang *Veni Creator*. The emperor and the empress then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their imperial ornaments. The grand elector took off the crown from his majesty's head; the arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the constable of the empire. In the mean time the empress's attendants took from her the imperial mantle and ornaments, which, with all the other insignia, were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the pope.

Then followed the ceremony of inauguration. The grand almoner of France, with the first of the French cardinals and archbishops, conducted their imperial majesties from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the emperor and empress; one on the head, the other two on the hands. They were then re-conducted to the throne, when the pope performed the mass. His holiness then said prayers separately over both crowns, the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. The imperial mantles being consecrated, the emperor and empress put them on again, and the emperor afterwards placed the crown on the head of the empress. An eye-witness to this coronation asserts, that, immediately after the pope had blessed the two crowns, Napoleon in a manner

snatched that which was intended for him, placing it himself on his own head. Napoleon then took the other crown, and placed it upon the head of Josephine, who remained upon her knees at the foot of the altar. After this the pope, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, followed the emperor from the altar to the throne, where, having pronounced a prayer, he kissed the emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat imperator in æternum!*"

When divine service was finished, the emperor sitting with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the Gospels, the grand master of the ceremonies pronounced the oath prescribed, before the three presidents of the senate, the legislative corps and the tribunate. After this, the principal herald at arms cried aloud—"The most glorious and most august emperor Napoleon, emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned!"

At this instant the roof of the church of Notre Dame resounded with the repeated cries of "*Vive l'empereur!, Vive l'imperatrice!*"—The pope was then re-conducted by his clergy, and the procession returned nearly in the same order as it came.

On the following day the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets distributing a great quantity of medals of different sizes, intended to commemorate the coronation. On one side of the medals the emperor was represented, bearing the crown of the Cæsars, with this legend, *Napoleon Empereur;* on the reverse was the inscription, *Le Senat et le Peuple*, with an allegorical representation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and a warrior newly clothed with the imperial attributes.

The prospect of peace on the continent was soon overclouded by an energetic note, which had been presented to the diet of Ratisbon from the emperor of Russia, on the seizure of the duke d'Enghien. To this the French minister replied, in a tone of lofty indifference, "that the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia were undoubtedly the two powers most concerned in the fate of the German empire; and the German princes being satisfied, Napoleon felt himself in no way responsible to the emperor of Russia, on a point which did not concern his interest; and if it were the intention of his majesty to recommence the war, what need was there of empty pretences, and why did he not act openly?"

The departure of General Hedouville from Petersburg, and much angry correspondence, followed between the French and Russian ministers at Paris, in which Sweden also became a party against France, though fortunately the subsisting relations of commerce between France and the north were allowed to remain uninterrupted. But towards the close of the year 1804, the emperor Alexander, after his diplomatic correspondence had been closed for some time with Bonaparte, entered into very active negotiations with the British government, at the head of which Mr. Pitt was again placed, with a determination to signalize his administration by some extraordinary effort.

But while many were in daily expectation of being again disturbed by the din of arms, Napoleon was by no means unmindful of the arts of peace. Some months before his coronation, he had expressed his wish of transmitting to posterity a picture

of the grand ceremony, by a work worthy of the high fame of the artist.

M. David eagerly embraced the proposal. Immediately the emperor sent for Prince Murat, then governor of Paris, and for Count Segur, grand master of the ceremonies, and in the presence of his first painter, ordered them to choose the most convenient place for him to see the whole ceremony, and to draw it with exactness.

The place selected was above the chief altar, so that the painter could see perfectly the choir of the church in which the coronation was to be performed, and in which all the distinguished persons, intended to be present, were to be assembled.

Immediately after the ceremony, M. David, full of his subject, went home, and sketched out the design of his work. The rough draught was made on the proportion of 18 inches by 12. The picture is 33 feet long, and 21 high.

The greatest known picture in the world, the Nuptials of Cana, by Paul Veronese, is only 33 feet long, and 18 high. This size renders it difficult to find a room large enough for the exhibition of a picture which contains 210 persons, of whom near eighty are represented from head to foot. Many of the likenesses are very striking.

This work was the result of four years' labour. On the one hand, the opposition of the Romish clergy; on the other, the emperor's orders, sometimes very difficult to put in harmony with the exact truth; and also the pretensions of powerful men, who were all ambitious of the most conspicuous place, increased the difficulties of the execution.

The cardinal Caprara, for instance, who appears

bareheaded, wished to have his wig on, such being the custom followed in Romish ceremonials: M. David was desirous of painting quite bare a head, the colour of which promised so beautiful an effect.

In like manner, the emperor had ordered the Turkish envoy to be exhibited with all the other ambassadors: to this the envoy objected, because the law of the Koran forbade his entrance into a Christian church. After many negotiations, and a great loss of time, he gave his consent, under the consideration that the post and character of ambassador belongs to all religions.

M. David was often interrupted in his work by the foreign artists at Paris, who were daily soliciting the permission of being admitted into his painting room. It was difficult to resist so flattering an eagerness. Camucini, the prince of the Roman school, and the famous statuary Canova, daily made use of that permission. Camucini, at his last visit, found the artist surrounded by many of his scholars, all of them profoundly silent in admiration of his composition. On taking leave of M. David, the Italian painter bowed to him, with these remarkable words: *Adio, il più bravo pittore di scholari ben bravi.*

The picture was finished about the month of November, 1807. Previous to its public exposition, the emperor appointed a day to see it himself; it was on the 4th of January, 1808. Accordingly, on that day, and to honour the artist the more, he proceeded in state, attended by a detachment of cavalry and military music, accompanied by the empress, and the princes and princesses of his family, and followed by his ministers and the

great officers of the crown, to the painting-room, where M. David was in waiting to receive him.

In the meantime the passions were at work. Severe criticisms had already reached the emperor and his court. The picture (according to some) was not the emperor's coronation, but that of the empress. Under the impossibility of describing all the ceremonies which he had witnessed, (and the most interesting part of them being that in which the three chief personages of the piece were acting,) the artist chose for his work the moment in which the emperor places the crown on the head of his consort: his reason for this preference was, that if he had represented Napoleon taking the crown from the altar, the pope, and the empress herself, would have been only witnesses of an act in itself undoubtedly very solemn, but one with which their presence had no necessary connexion; the coronation of his spouse, on the contrary, supposed that that of her imperial husband was already over. The emperor was then acting as master and sovereign; the empress was receiving the insignia of the state conferred on her; and the pope was performing the religious functions for which his presence had been required.

This idea, therefore, which at first had been so much criticised, was fully approved by the emperor, to whom, indeed, the original conception of the artist had already been submitted. After having observed, and attentively examined the work, Napoleon said:

"M. David, this is very well, very well indeed: you have guessed my whole thought; the empress, my mother, the emperor, are all most properly placed; you have made me a French knight, and I am

pleased that you have thus transmitted to future ages the proofs of affection I wished to give to the empress." And, after an instant of silence, his hat on, the empress standing on his right hand, M. David on his left, and the picture in front, the emperor advanced two steps, and, facing the author, pulled off his hat, and, bowing profoundly, "M. David," said he, raising his voice, "I salute you."

"Sire," answered the painter, "I receive the compliment of the emperor in the name of all the artists of his empire; happy myself in being the one whom you deign to make the channel of such an honour."

When, in the month of October, 1808, the picture was placed in the museum, the emperor wished to see it again. M. David accordingly attended him in the hall of the Louvre, surrounded by many of his pupils. After conferring the decoration of the legion of honour on the most distinguished of them, whom, at the emperor's desire, M. David had pointed out to him, "It is fit," said Napoleon, "that I testify my satisfaction to the master of so many distinguished artists; I promote you, therefore, to be officer of the legion of honour. M. Duroc, give a golden decoration to M. David."—"Sire, I have none with me."—"No matter," replied Napoleon; "don't let this day pass without executing my order."

The grand maréchal, although no friend to M. David, was obliged to obey; and on the same evening the insignia was sent to the painter.

Not content with honouring the artist himself, the emperor was pleased to see his esteem for him shared by all the great persons who appeared at his court. The king of Wirtemburg, at his

suggestion, came to see M. David's work. On being shown the picture of the coronation, astonished at the luminous brightness spread over the group, in which are placed the pope and Cardinal Caprara; "I did not believe," said the king to the painter, "that your art could operate such wonders. White and black, in painting, afford but very weak resources. When you produced such an effect, doubtless you must have had a sun-beam upon your pencil."

Such a compliment discovered a peculiar and perfect knowledge of the art. M. David, astonished, after many thanks, added, "Sire, your reflection, and your way of expressing it, bespeak the artist, or the well-informed amateur. Your majesty has then learned to paint?"—"Yes," answered the king, "I sometimes occupy myself with that art; and all my brothers possess a similar taste. The one who very often calls upon you, has obtained some success in it. His performances are not at all like royal paintings; they are worthy of an artist. M. David," added he, "I dare not hope to obtain a copy of this picture: but you may indemnify me, by placing my name at the head of the subscribers to the engraving. Pray, don't forget me."

In December, news arrived of the refusal of the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge Napoleon as emperor, upon which Marshal Brune quitted Constantinople.

Among the demonstrations made by Napoleon in 1804, those at Boulogne were the most prominent. It might have been remarked, that, after he had occupied Hanover, he lost no time in exciting the ideas of an invasion of England. Orders were

sent to repair the old batteries on the French coasts, or to establish new ones. The formation of a hundred companies of volunteer gunners was ordered, and several others of sedentary *gardes côtes*, composed as much as possible of men who had learned the use of artillery during the late war, but had retired from the service. The project of a descent on England was again put forward; and, in the impatience of the first consul to avenge British duplicity, he made an appeal to the French nation, and to its patriotism, still more energetic than that of 1801. The *delenda Carthago* became the favourite expression of every one who wished to pay his court to the chief of the French government. Addresses poured in from all parts of France, professing devotion and attachment without limits.

According to the new plan adopted by the first consul, he meant to make use of gun and flat-bottomed boats, in his projected descent; which, being principally managed with oars, might possibly escape the British cruisers, as well as the shot of the larger vessels, from the smallness of their size, especially at a time of the year when fogs are so frequent in the channel, or when bad weather will not permit larger vessels to keep the narrow seas. A hundred and sixty thousand soldiers were to embark on board these frail barks, to land upon the British coast; and, if this should succeed, the conquest of England was calculated upon as a certain and infallible consequence. This illusion for a time seemed to have turned all heads in France, and every citizen was willing to contribute something to this romantic undertaking.

In the midst of these preparations, Bonaparte wished to reconnoitre the new theatre, upon which he intended again to put the courage and constancy of the French to the proof. He left Paris on the 24th June, 1804: after passing through Amiens, Abbeville, and Montreuil sur Mer, he arrived at Boulogne on the 1st of July; he then visited Borgues, Cassel, Ballieul, Armentiers, and Lisle, on the 7th of July. Taking his course afterwards towards Belgium, he successively visited Ypres, Nieuport, Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, in which tour he occupied fourteen days. At Antwerp he gave directions for forming a grand navigable canal, to communicate with the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. This was his first essay for making Antwerp the grand *depôt* of all the commerce of the north of Europe, and which was afterwards completed. The enthusiasm of the Belgians was every where excited by Napoleon's presence, who were then more gratified by their re-union with France than ever. The inhabitants of Brussels, Louvain, Maestricht, Liege, Namur, and Aix-la-Chapelle, testified the most unfeigned admiration and respect, equal to any he had received in Old France, which he again entered at Mezieres, traversing a part of Champaigne, through Charleville, Sedan and Rheims, and returned to Paris on the 12th of August, after a six weeks' absence from that capital.

It was during another journey in this part of his dominions, that, having experienced the intrepidity and bravery of British seamen, Napoleon paid them a just tribute, and generously rewarded them for the proofs they had given him of their

superiority. He was at Givet with the empress Marie Louise, and stopped at that place to rest During the night, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much, that the bridge of boats over it was carried away Napoleon was very anxious to depart, and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled, that he might be enabled to cross the river. They said the waters were so high, that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. He questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh water seamen. Napoleon then recollected, that there were English prisoners in the barracks, and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen amongst them should be brought before him to the banks of the river. The waters were very high, and the current rapid and dangerous. He asked them if they could join a number of boats, so that he might pass. They answered, that it was possible, but hazardous. Napoleon desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours, they succeeded in effecting what the other *imbecilles* had pronounced impossible; and he crossed before the evening was over. Napoleon ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with him at the time.

The situation of affairs in England at the end of the year 1804, and the alarm that the formidable preparations for a descent upon the soil of Great Britain had excited, led Napoleon to suppose that George III. would be more inclinable to peace than under circumstances less favourable, and

induced him to take a step which, if crowned with success, might have rendered the commencement of the year 1805 one of the most remarkable epochs of the late reign. That this attempt was made by the French emperor, and in a singular manner, will appear in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

Letter of Napoleon to George the Third—The Emperor Alexander concludes a Treaty with Great Britain—The new Kingdom of Italy—Bonaparte's Visit to Milan, and Coronation—Genoa annexed to France—Piombino and Lucca given to the Emperor's Sister—Austria joins the Coalition against France—Boulogne again visited by Bonaparte—Flotilla dismantled, and the Army withdrawn from the Coast—Bonaparte leaves Paris, and arrives at Strasbourg—Movements of the French Armies—Official Bulletins—Surrender of Ulm—Napoleon at Munich—Brannau—The Emperor of Germany—Affairs of Amstetten, Marienzell—Vienna evacuated by the Austrians—Battle of Diernstein—French Troops pass through Vienna—The Emperor Napoleon's Residence in the Palace of Schoenbrunn—Affairs of Hollebrun and Schoen Grabern—Battle of Tuntersdorf—Head Quarters at Znaim—A Ruse de Guerre—*Prince Dolgerucki's Interview with Napoleon—Order of the Day before that of the Battle of Austerlitz—Devotion of the Soldiers—Account of the Battle—Bulletins written by Bonaparte—Interview between him and the Emperor of Germany—Retreat of the Russian Army—The Love of Liberty effaced by a Passion for military Glory—The Campaign of* 1805 *in Italy—Treaty of Presburg—The Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburg declared Kings.*

THE measure adopted by Bonaparte, as a consequence of his elevation to the imperial dignity, was to transmit new overtures to the British government, in the form of a letter written by his own hand, and addressed to his Britannic majesty. This letter was couched in the following terms :

"SIR, AND BROTHER,

"Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity.

They may contend for ages; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties? and will not so much blood shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences? I consider it no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war; it, besides, presents nothing that I need to fear; peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. The moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war, which all my efforts will not be able to terminate? Your majesty has gained more in ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity. What can it hope from war?—To form a coalition with some powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil: a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France.—To renew intestine troubles? The times are no longer the same.—To destroy our finances? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed.—To take from France her colonies? The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve?—If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any

presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect,—to fight merely for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover the means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your majesty will believe the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

As it was not customary for an English sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister. The secretary of state for foreign affairs intimated his majesty's wish to procure the blessings of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; but stated the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until communications had been held with the powers of the continent, with whom his majesty was engaged in confidential connexions and relations, particularly the emperor of Russia.

The transmission of Napoleon's letter to the king of England was not known at Paris till the 4th of February; it had been kept a secret between the emperor and his minister, Talleyrand; but the continued silence of the British ministry on the subject having induced the opinion, that the question, not being agreeable, would be decided in the British councils in the negative, Napoleon ordered his minister of foreign affairs to lay a copy of the

king's answer to it before the three chambers of the legislature, together with the evasive communication of Lord Melville on the same subject.

The object which Napoleon had in view, in communicating his correspondence with the king of Great Britain to his chamber, was to prove to the people, that he had not neglected any means to get rid of the scourge of war. Consequently, his generosity, his greatness of mind, and moderation, were exalted to the skies, and the responsibility of the continuation of hostilities charged upon England.

In May, 1805, the storm, that had again been raised against France, began to overspread the political horizon. On the 11th of April, Russia concluded a treaty with Great Britain, by virtue of which, in consideration of a subsidy, she was to put on foot an army of a hundred and eighty thousand men, and to form a coalition, with the view of rescuing Hanover from France, withdrawing the influence of that power from Switzerland and Holland, and for giving what they called *a frontier* to Austria; to effect the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by the French, and to replace the king of Sardinia upon the throne of Piedmont.

Though Austria had officially complimented Napoleon upon his new dignity, this power did not seem to entertain more favourable dispositions towards France than its declared enemies; but willingly lent an ear to agents sent to draw her into the new league then in agitation. Great activity was soon observed in the aulic council of war at Vienna, followed by a continual movement of troops in the empire; and under the pretex-

of establishing a cordon to check the progress of an epidemic disease that raged at Leghorn, an Austrian army was assembled upon the Adige.

It was impossible that Napoleon could be duped by the pacific assurances that he received, in answer to his representations on this subject, from the court of Vienna; the English papers too clearly explained the real object of that power. Napoleon, however, meant to wait the course of events, and leave to the emperor of Austria the odium of having first broken the peace.

In the mean while, Napoleon's principal attention was drawn towards Italy, naturally suspecting the first hostilities would break out upon the Adige. The French troops in Italy had orders to keep on the *qui vive;* whilst, to encourage the Italians who had shaken off the Austrian yoke, Napoleon no longer indulged the least hesitation in putting upon his head the iron crown of the kings of the Lombards. In reality, as Napoleon had established royalty in France, he could not think of suffering a republic to subsist in the north of Italy; and as, during his consulship, he had prepared the French for an imperial regimen, he had also brought the Italian republic into such a state, that it was impossible to preserve its independence. From its first existence, this republic had been led by him, as it were, in leading strings; but from the moment he was declared emperor of France, a change in the Italian constitution was to be expected.

In order to be more sure of the assent of his new subjects, he used the same means as he had adopted in the year 1802. He summoned the Italian consulta to meet him at Paris, for the pro-

fessed purpose of adding those modifications and changes that times and circumstances had rendered necessary.

On the 17th of March, M. de Melzi, vice-president of the Italian republic, arrived at Paris at the head of a deputation from the Cisalpine republic, to express their cordial acquiescence in a monarchical and hereditary government; and also their wishes, that Napoleon, being proclaimed king of Italy, would not suffer a year to elapse before he came to be crowned at Milan.

It was stipulated, that the throne of Italy should be hereditary in the male line, both natural and adopted; but that the right of adoption should not extend to any other person than a citizen of the French empire, or of the kingdom of Italy; that the crown of Italy should not be united to that of France, except upon the head of the present emperor.

Napoleon, on the first of April, visited the southern departments of France, passed through Piedmont, which had been united to France in 1802, and made his entry into Milan, the capital of his new kingdom of Italy, on the 8th of May. The fears which the people so lately entertained of the Austrians were so great, that Napoleon was received like a guardian angel.

The ceremony of the coronation, and the anointing of Napoleon and Josephine, as king and queen of Italy, took place in the cathedral of Milan, much in the same manner, and with the same ceremonies, as that at Paris.

The constitutional act was published on the 5th of June, founded upon bases nearly similar to those of the French empire. On the same day,

Napoleon opened the sittings of the legislative corps, and nominated as governor of the kingdom, during his absence, the prince Eugene Beauharnois, his adopted son, who immediately took the oath of fidelity prescribed by the constitutional act.

The next place fixed upon for a union with France was the city of Genoa. It was, however, determined to make the annexation of this place and its dependencies appear to result from the proposal of the senate and people of Genoa; and the senate, after due deliberation, resolved that an address should be presented to the French emperor, praying that he would allow the republic of Genoa to be permanently united to the French empire.

This address was signed by great numbers of the inhabitants, besides the senate; and it was ordered that an embassy, consisting of the doge, and the deputies of the senate and people, should proceed to Milan, for the purpose of laying this document at the feet of the emperor. Upon their arrival, the emperor listened to them with attention, and afterwards addressed the doge upon the necessity of this union; promising them, that he should realize their expectations, in uniting them to his great people. Napoleon nominated Lebrun, arch-treasurer of the empire, governor of the new departments formed out of the Ligurian territory.

Piombino, a little principality in the kingdom of Etruria, had already been given by the emperor of the French to his sister Eliza, the spouse of a Corsican officer named Bacciocchi, and who was on this occasion created a prince. During his stay in Italy, Napoleon joined the territory of the republic

of Lucca to that of Piombino, without altering the aristocratical forms by which this little country had been governed for many ages. After having made these arrangements, he returned to Paris, where matters of much higher import claimed his presence.

About the time that the emperor Alexander had signed the new treaty with the English government, he sent a plenipotentiary to Berlin, and another to Vienna, to support the interest of England, and induce Austria to enter into the third coalition against France without delay. The chief of the French government was represented as crowned with the diadem of Charlemagne, and at the head of a numerous army ready to require, by force of arms, the faith and homage of all the liege sovereigns of Europe. This consideration, joined to the offer of subsidies on the part of England, fixed the resolution of the emperor Francis; and, whilst the ambassador from the court of Vienna at Paris declared officially to Napoleon, that his master entertained the most pacific intentions, and cordially wished for the renewal of negotiations tending to re-establish a maritime peace, the ambassador from the same court at St. Petersburg acceded, in the name of his sovereign, to the coalition formed between England, Sweden, and Russia, to attack France.

Though Napoleon was by no means the dupe of this diplomatic conduct, and similar representations that followed, he still thought he had time enough left to renew the alarms that had been excited in England by his preparations at Boulogne. The season of the year most favourable for such an attempt was approaching; all the vessels were

collected, and both soldiers and sailors were anxious to be conducted towards the British shore. Resolving upon another visit to the coast, Napoleon left Paris on the 2d of August, 1805, for the camp of Boulogne, where his appearance produced all the effect he had anticipated. The British ministry, alarmed more than ever at the state of the public feeling at home, ordered their agents at the court of Vienna to signify to the Austrian government, that it was necessary they should commence immediate hostilities against the French, or give up the expectation of receiving the promised subsidies. It was in vain that the emperor's ministers represented that their master was not yet ready; that it was necessary to await the arrival of the Russians, and their junction with the Austrian armies. England persisted in her demands, and the emperor was forced to accede to a precipitate opening of the campaign.

But whilst these transactions were passing in Germany, Napoleon was by no means inactive. Accordingly, whilst he was last at Boulogne, he seemed suddenly to have altered his plans: he issued orders to dismantle the flotilla in that harbour, and directed the troops to march from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. A rupture having now become unavoidable, the elector of Bavaria, of whom strong suspicions were entertained by the allied powers, was called upon by Austria to incorporate his troops with the Austrian army, which not being agreed to, the latter in full force passed

the Inn, in September, and treated the elector's territory as a conquered country. The elector was obliged to take refuge at Wurtzburg.

Intelligence having been received at Paris of these proceedings, the senate was convened, and, in a speech from the throne, the emperor informed them, that he was about to place himself at the head of his army, in order to afford immediate relief to his allies, and to defend the dearest interests of his people. The war had, he informed them, already commenced, by the invasion of Bavaria, and the elector had actually been driven from his territories. On this occasion two decrees were passed,—the one for the immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts, and the other for re-organizing and imbodying the national guard. The emperor appointed Joseph Bonaparte to superintend the government in his absence.

Napoleon quitted St. Cloud on the 24th of September, and arrived at Strasbourg on the 27th, where he awaited the arrival and concentration of the troops which were to form the grand army that he intended to conduct into Germany.

When the emperor Napoleon arrived at Strasbourg, the greatest part of the French army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the coast, passed the Rhine at Manheim, Spires, and Durlach, under the Marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lasnes, with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under Prince Murat, had crossed on the preceding day at Kehl. The French army of Hanover, of about twenty thousand men, under Bernadotte, having marched by Gottingen and Frankfort, had arrived at the head-quarters of the elector of Bavaria at Wurtzburg. Here Ber-

nadotte was soon after joined by General Marmont, and the Gallo-Batavian army, which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and, by this union, the force collected at Wurtzburg amounted to upwards of sixty thousand men.

Bonaparte's plan for opening the German campaign was of a masterly character. In order to avoid the inconveniences of passing through the Black Forest, he resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and, passing that river below the position of the Austrians, place himself between them and the Russians. As it was necessary that this project should be executed with the utmost secrecy and rapidity, Prince Murat was ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest, to induce the Austrians to believe the French meant to force a passage in that direction. General Mack fell into this snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to oppose Murat. At length he discovered his error, and was suddenly compelled to change all his plans. In the mean while the French had traversed the electorate of Wirtemburg and the plains of Nordlingen with the greatest rapidity; and, on the 16th of October, Marshal Soult arrived at the head of his division on the Danube at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge at Munster. Marmont, having unexpectedly penetrated through the Prussian territory of Anspach, soon after arrived with Bernadotte and his division at Ingoldstadt. From this moment the issue of the campaign appeared to be decided. The Austrians under General Mack did not exceed eighty thousand men, while a French force nearly double that number was posted in his rear, and his

communications with the Austrian states nearly cut off.

The official bulletins of this campaign of a few days have so much brevity and force about them, that it would be difficult for other words to convey superior or adequate ideas of the rapid and brilliant succession of the events they relate.

The first of these, after enumerating the different corps that had passed the Rhine, mentions Prince Murat remaining for several days in position before the defiles of the Black Forest. His patroles, which often showed themselves to the enemy's patroles, induced them to believe that it was our intention to penetrate by these defiles. The great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl on the 30th of September, and advanced towards Heilbronn. The emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October at Kehl, slept at Ettlingen the same evening, and received there the elector and princess of Baden, and went to Louisburgh, to the elector of Wirtemburg, in whose palace he took up his abode.

On the 6th of October, the second division of General Soult's corps of the army, under the command of General Vandamme, stopped only two hours at Nordlingen, and, continuing its march, arrived at eight in the evening at Donawerth, and took possession of the bridge, which was defended by the regiment of Colloredo. Some men were killed, and some were made prisoners.

On the 8th, at day-break, Prince Murat, at the head of Beaumont's and Klein's divisions of dragoons, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers commanded by General Nansouty, marched to cut off the route from Ulm to Augsburg. On his arrival at Wertingen, he perceived a considera-

ble division of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Albert's cuirassiers. He immediately surrounded the whole of this corps. Marshal Lannes, who was marching in the rear of these divisions of cavalry, arrived with the division of Oudinot, and, after an engagement of two hours, the whole division, standards, cannon, baggage, officers, and soldiers, was taken. There were there twelve battalions of grenadiers, who had marched in great haste from the Tyrol to the assistance of the army of Bavaria.

In fine, the army under Marshal Bernadotte, together with the Bavarian army, commanded by Generals Duroc and Verden, took their position at Ingoldstadt. The imperial guard, commanded by General Bessieres, proceeded to Augsburg; as likewise the division of cuirassiers under the command of General Hautpoult.

Prince Murat, with the divisions of Klein and Beaumont, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers under General Nansouty, hastened with all speed to the village of Zumershausen, in order to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburg.

Marshal Lannes, with the grenadier division of Oudinot and the division of Suchet, took post the same day in the village of Zumershausen.

All the cannon, colours, and almost all the officers of the enemy's army, who fought at Wertingen, were taken; a great number were killed.

Marshal Ney on his side, with the divisions of Malher, Dupont, and Loison, the division of dragoons of General Barraguay d'Hilliers, and the division of Gazan, ascended the Danube, and attacked the enemy in their position at Grumberg.

The rains did not retard the forced marches of the grand army. The emperor set the example, and was on horseback night and day; he was continually in the midst of the troops, and in every point where his presence was necessary. On the 9th of October, he rode fourteen leagues in dreadful weather. He slept in a small village, without servants, and without any kind of baggage.

The combat at Wertingen was followed, in twenty-four hours, by an action at Gunsburgh. Marshal Ney had caused his corps to advance—the division of Loison towards Langenau, and the division of Malher to Gunsburgh. The enemy, who endeavoured to oppose their march, were every where defeated.

It was in vain that Prince Ferdinand hastened in person to defend Gunsburgh; General Malher attacked him with the 59th regiment. The battle was most obstinate—they fought man to man. Colonel La Cuee was killed at the head of his regiment, which, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, carried the bridge by main force: the cannon which defended it were taken, and the fine position of Gunsburgh remained in our possession.

Imperial Head-Quarters of Augsburg, 18 *Vendemaire.*

The battles of Albeck, Elchingen, and the capture of Ulm and Memmingen, followed the actions at Wertingen and Gunsburgh. Marshal Soult arrived on the 13th before Memmingen, immediately surrounded the town, and, after some negotiation, the commandant capitulated. Nine battalions were taken prisoners: a major-general, many superior officers, ten pieces of cannon, and a great

deal of baggage and ammunition of every kind, was the result of this affair. At the same time, Marshal Soult marched for Ochsenhausen, for the purpose of reaching Biberach, and cutting off the only retreat which lay open to the archduke Ferdinand. On the 19th, the enemy made a sortie from Ulm, and attacked the division of Dupont. This battle was a most obstinate one. Surrounded by twenty-five thousand men, these six thousand brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took fifteen hundred prisoners. On the 13th, the emperor went to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested. On the 14th, at day-break, Marshal Ney passed the bridge at the head of Loison's division. The enemy opposed his taking possession of Elchingen with sixteen thousand men: they were every where overthrown, lost three thousand men, who were taken prisoners, and were pursued to their intrenchments. On the 14th, General Marmont occupied all the communications of the enemy on the Iller. On the 15th, at day-break, the emperor himself appeared before Ulm. The corps of Prince Murat, and those of Marshals Lasnes and Ney, ranged themselves in order of battle, to force the intrenchments of the enemy. The day was dreadful: the troops were up to their knees in mud. The emperor had not taken off his boots for eight days. The Austrian prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving twelve battalions in the town, and upon the heights of Ulm, which were all taken. Marshal Soult took possession of Biberach on the 15th. Prince Murat set out in pursuit of the enemy, who were in a dreadful state of dissolution

Out of an army of eighty thousand men, only twenty-five thousand remained. Immediately after his arrival at Munich, Marshal Bernadotte pursued the army of General Kienmeyer, and took some wagons and prisoners from him.

The Austrian army was one of the finest that Austria ever had: it consisted of fourteen regiments of infantry of the army of Bavaria, as it was called, thirteen regiments from the Tyrol, and five regiments which had been sent in wagons from Italy,—altogether thirty-two regiments of infantry, and fifteen regiments of cavalry. The emperor had placed the army of Prince Ferdinand in the same situation in which he had placed that of Melas. After having long hesitated, Melas adopted the noble resolution of piercing through the French army, which occasioned the battle of Marengo. Mack took another resolution: Ulm is the point of union of a great number of roads; he had formed the plan of making his divisions retreat by these roads, to re-assemble them in Bohemia and the Tyrol. The divisions of Hohenzollern and Werneck marched off by Heydenheim. A small division retreated by Memmingen, but the emperor on the 12th hastened from Augsburg to Ulm, immediately disconcerted the projects of the enemy, and ordered the bridge and position of Elchingen to be carried, which rendered every thing secure. Marshal Soult, after having taken Memmingen, went in pursuit of the other columns. Prince Ferdinand had therefore no other resource than to suffer himself to be shut up in Ulm, or to endeavour by cross-roads to join the division of Hohenzollern: this prince adopted the latter resolution, and proceeded to Aalen. In the mean time,

Prince Murat was in pursuit. While he made a movement on his right to Heydenheim, Marshal Lannes marched towards Aalen and Nordlingen. The progress of the enemy was retarded by five hundred wagons, and they were weakened by the battle of Langenau. The action did not retard the march of Prince Murat. He advanced rapidly towards Neresheim, and on the 17th, at five in the evening, he arrived before that position. The division of dragoons of General Klein charged the enemy. Two standards, a general officer, and one thousand men, were again taken at the battle of Neresheim. Prince Ferdinand, and seven of his generals, had barely time to get on horseback. Their dinner was found on table. For two days they had no place of rest.

On the night of the 16th there was a terrible hurricane; the Danube completely overflowed, and carried away almost all the bridges, which certainly afforded the Austrian army an opportunity of forcing their way through the French posts; but this favourable circumstance was not improved. On the 15th, Marshal Bernadotte, having pushed his advanced posts as far as Wasserbourg and Haag, on the roads of Brannau, took four or five hundred prisoners, and seventeen pieces of cannon; having thus taken, since his entry at Munich, fifteen hundred prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, and a quantity of baggage.

The emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October; the Danube the 6th, at five o'clock in the morning; the Lech the same day, at half past three; his troops entered Munich on the 12th; his advanced guard arrived on the Inn on the 15th. On the same day he was master of Memmingen,

and on the 17th of Ulm, when the terms of the capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and, after filing off, to lay down their arms. The field-officers were permitted to return home upon their parole; but the subalterns and soldiers were sent prisoners to France. He took from the enemy at Wertingen, Gunsburgh, Elchingen, the days of Memmingen and Ulm, and in the actions of Albeck, Langenau, and Neresheim, forty thousand men, more than forty stand of colours, a great number of cannon, baggage wagons, &c.; and to accomplish all this, only marches and manœuvres were employed.—In these partial actions, the loss of the French army amounted to no more than five hundred killed, and a thousand wounded. It was a common remark among the troops, "The emperor has found out a new method of making war —he only makes us use our legs instead of our bayonets." Five sixths of the army never fired a shot, which mortified them much. But they had all marched a great deal. The eulogy of the army may be pronounced in a breath—it is worthy of its chief.

In a proclamation to the army, dated October 21, at Elchingen, the emperor said, "Of 100,000 men who composed the Austrian army, 60,000 are prisoners; they will go to take the place of our conscripts in the labours of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon, (their whole park,) 90 stand of colours, and all their generals, are in our hands: there have not escaped of this army 15,000 men. Soldiers, I had announced to you a great battle; but, thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to obtain the same success, with-

out running any risk; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, so important a result has not diminished our force by more than 1500 men."

On the 24th of October, Napoleon arrived at Munich, which was tastefully illuminated on the occasion.

Brannau was found to be one of the finest acquisitions for the army. It was surrounded by a circumvallation fortified with bastions, drawbridges, a half-moon, and ditches full of water. The place was also most abundantly supplied with provisions, ammunition, and artillery necessary to support a long siege.

At this time it snowed six inches deep, and the roads were horrible; yet Marshal Davoust took a position between Ried and Haag. The emperor of Germany, in his anxiety, came to Wells, where he learned the disasters of his army at Ulm. Vienna was threatened with famine.

On the 3d of November, Marshal Davoust had pushed his advanced posts to Steyer. Since passing the Inn, from 14 to 16,000 prisoners had been taken, Austrians and Russians, without including the sick. Napoleon's head-quarters were established at Lambach.

Prince Murat, after the capture of Enns, pursued the enemy anew. The Russian army on the heights of Amstetten were attacked by General Oudinot's grenadiers; the battle was very obstinate; the Russians left 400 dead on the field of battle, and 1500 prisoners. The French advanced posts being at St. Polten on the 8th of November, the enemy was attacked near Marienzell, put to the route, and pursued five leagues, losing three standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and 4000

prisoners. On the 9th, in the morning, Prince Murat arrived at St. Hyppolite. Here a deputation of the inhabitants of Vienna, with Prince Zinzendorf at their head, attended him, to declare the emperor's intention to deliver up the metropolis, in order to preserve it from the horrors of war; and that, in so doing, he depended on the justice and generosity of Bonaparte to carry his benevolent wishes into execution. The deputies were received by Prince Murat with attention and respect, and, having obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. General Sebastiani entered that city in consequence of arrangements then made, and his troops were quietly conducted to the quarters assigned for them.

The whole court and the nobility had quitted that capital, and the emperor of Austria was preparing to follow. The Russian army had effected its retreat to Krems, by repassing the Danube, apprehending that its communications with Moravia might be cut off.

The Russians declined all the temptations held out to them to engage on the heights of St. Polten, and, as before observed, passed the Danube at Krems, burning the bridge, which was very handsome. But when Marshal Mortier, with six battalions, advanced towards Stein on the 11th, he reckoned upon finding the Russian rear-guard there, but found their whole army, the advanced guard excepted, which had not passed. The battle of Diernstein then took place, which it was said would be for ever celebrated in military annals. From six in the morning till four in the afternoon, four thousand French made head against all that opposed them, and, having made themselves masters

of Loiben, they thought all was over; but the enemy, enraged at having lost ten stands of colours, six pieces of cannon, nine hundred prisoners, and two thousand killed, had marched two columns through difficult passes to turn the French. As soon as Mortier perceived this, he marched straight against the troops that had turned him, and cut his way through the enemy's lines, at the very moment that the 9th regiment of light infantry and the 33d of the line had charged and defeated another Russian corps, taking two stands of colours, and making 4000 prisoners. This was a day of blood; more than 4000 Russians were killed and wounded, and 1300 made prisoners, and the loss of the French was very considerable. Colonel Wattier, of the 4th dragoons, an officer of great worth was made prisoner. It then appeared that the emperor of Germany, the ministers and the court, were at Brunn, in Moravia, where the emperor Alexander was expected.

The last battle had totally disconcerted the plan of the Russians, who now evacuated Krems, and quitted the Danube, leaving 1500 prisoners in a state of great want. Marshal Mortier and other divisions set out in pursuit of them.

On the 13th of November, Prince Murat entered and passed through Vienna. The troops did not stop in that city: but Prince Murat established his head-quarters at the house of Duke Albert. The emperor Napoleon took up his residence in the palace of Schoenbrunn. The cannon, arms and ammunition found at Vienna, exceeded expectation. The French confessed that the inhabitants of that city, by their conduct, evinced as much friendship to them as of hatred to the Russians,

whose habits and barbarous manners were disgusting to polished nations.

On the 15th of November, Prince Murat, and the corps under General Lannes, came up with the Russians at Hollebrun: the French cavalry charged them, and they immediately abandoned the ground, leaving a hundred carriages with their equipage.

By the emperor's order, the corps of Murat, and those of Marshal Lannes and Soult, formed a junction. The Russians took up a position behind the village of Schoen Grabern, and beyond this was a defile defended by six thousand of their best troops. An action here began with some skirmishes with the cavalry, after which Marshal Lannes ordered Oudinot's division of grenadiers to advance to an attack upon the front and the left of the enemy's position. Marshal Soult caused their right to be turned by Lagrande's division, whilst Vandamme's corps supported that of the grenadiers.

General Oudinot, at the head of Mortier's grenadiers, rushed upon the Russians, with his wonted impetuosity; but the latter, having the advantage in their position, resisted the shock with firmness.

After an obstinate conflict, that lasted till eleven at night, the French found themselves masters of the field of battle, eighteen hundred prisoners, and twelve pieces of cannon.

The advance of Murat, on the 16th of November, brought on the battle of Tuntersdorf, in which a part of the Russian rear-guard was routed, leaving two thousand prisoners and two thousand wounded on the field of battle.

On the 17th, the emperor Napoleon advanced his head-quarters to Znaim, where the Russian rear-guard, retreating towards Brunn, had left their

sick. In constant pursuit of the enemy, Prince Murat entered Brunn on the 18th of November The emperor Napoleon's head-quarters were then fixed at Pohorlitz, but arrived again at Brunn on the 20th. But on the 21th, upon receiving the full powers of M. M. Stadion and de Giulay, he made the previous offer of an armistice, to spare the effusion of human blood. The emperor soon perceived that they had other projects ; and, as their hope of success could only be derived from the side of the Russians, he easily conceived that, the second and third armies being arrived, and near Olmutz, the proposed negotiations were only a *ruse de guerre*. Accordingly, on the 28th of November, at nine in the morning, a cloud of Cossacks, supported by Russian cavalry, made Prince Murat's advanced posts fall back, surrounded Wischau, and took fifty of the sixth regiment of dragoons. In the course of the day the emperor of Russia repaired to Wischau, and the whole of the Russian army took up a position behind that city.

Napoleon's plan from that moment was to wait for them, and to watch the most favourable moment for action. He therefore ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had actually been defeated ; took a good position three leagues in the rear, and laboured with much ostentation at fortifying it, and raising batteries. He proposed an interview to the emperor of Russia, who sent him his aid-de-camp, Prince Dolgorucki. That officer might remark, that every thing breathed fear and apprehension in the appearance of the French army. The placing strong guards, and the fortifications thrown up with such haste, ap-

peared to the Russian officer like the precautions of an army half beaten.

With those young men, who had taken upon them to direct the affairs of Russia, it was no longer a question, whether the French army should be beaten, but whether it should be turned and taken. Several old Austrian generals, who had made campaigns against the emperor Napoleon, are said to have warned the Russian council against too much confidence, when they had to march against old soldiers, and able officers. They said they had seen Napoleon, reduced to a handful of men, repossess himself of victory, under the most difficult circumstances, by rapid and unforeseen operations, and destroy numerous armies; that here no advantage had been obtained; and that, on the contrary, all the affairs with the Russian rear-guard had been in favour of the French; —but to this the presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of the 80,000 Russians, the enthusiasm inspired by the presence of their emperor, and the picked corps of the imperial guard of Russia.

In the order of the day before the battle of Austerlitz, the emperor Napoleon inserted the following proclamation:

"*December* 1.

"Soldiers, the Russian army is before you, to avenge the Austrian army at Ulm. They are the same battalions you beat at Hollebrun, and which you have constantly pursued. The positions we occupy are formidable; and whilst they march to my right, they shall present me their flank.—Soldiers, I shall direct myself all your battalions: I shall keep at a distance from the firing, if, with

your accustomed bravery, you carry confusion and disorder into the enemy's ranks; but if victory be for a moment doubtful, you shall see your emperor expose himself to the first blows; for victory cannot hesitate on this day, in which the honour of the French infantry, of so much importance to the whole nation, is concerned. Let not the ranks be thinned under pretence of carrying off the wounded; but let each be well persuaded that we must conquer these hirelings of England, who are animated with so deep a hatred to our nation. This victory will finish our campaign, and we shall resume our winter-quarters, where we shall be joined by the new armies forming in France; then the peace which I make will be worthy of my people, of you, and of me.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

It was early on the morning of the second of December, that the emperor, with great joy, saw from the heights the Russian army beginning a movement, within twice the distance of cannon-shot, to turn his right. He said several times, "Before to-morrow night, that army shall be in my power." Yet the enemy's idea was different; they appeared before the French posts within pistol-shot. By a flank march they defiled upon a line four leagues long. In passing the length of the French army, which seemed afraid of quitting its position, the Russians appeared to have but one fear, and that was, that their enemy should escape. Every thing was done which could favour this deception. Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain; but all at once it seemed astonished

at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste.

At night the emperor Napoleon went on foot and *incog.*, and visited all the posts, but was almost immediately recognised by the soldiers, who pladed lighted straw upon long poles, and 80,000 men joined in saluting the emperor with acclamations; some to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation, others saying, that the army would to-morrow offer its *bouquette* to the emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and said, "Sire, you need not expose yourself: I promise you, in the name of the grenadiers, that you shall have only to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you to-morrow the colours and artillery of the Russian army, to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation."

Omitting the previous disposal of the different corps, for the sake of brevity, we must avail ourselves of the words of the celebrated bulletin of this day, dated Austerlitz, December 3.

"At one in the morning, the emperor got on horseback to visit the posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and get an account of what the guards had learned of the movements of the Russians. He heard that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise.

"This battle, which the soldiers persist in calling the day of the three emperors, which others call the day of the anniversary, and which the emperor named the battle of Austerlitz, will be ever memorable in the annals of the great nation. The emperor, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up, to issue his last orders. When the sun shot forth his first rays,

the orders were issued, and each marshal joined his corps full gallop. The emperor said, in passing along the front of several regiments, 'Soldiers, we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies;' and instantly hats were placed at the point of bayonets, and cries of *Vive l'empereur* were the signal for battle. A moment afterwards, the cannonade began at the extremity of the right, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked; but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust stopped the enemy short, and the battle began. Marshal Soult put himself in motion at the same moment, proceeded to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with Generals Vandamme and St. Hilaire's divisions, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain. Surprised by a flank march, whilst it was flying, believing itself to be attacking, and seeing itself attacked, it considered itself as half defeated. Prince Murat was in motion with his cavalry. The left wing, under the command of General Lannes, marched forward also, *en echelons*, by regiments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line: 203 pieces of cannon, and nearly 200,000 men, made a dreadful noise; it was really a giant combat. Not an hour had elapsed, and the enemy's whole left was cut off; their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two emperors, who marched immediately to the emperor of Russia's guard, to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the imperial Russian guard on horseback, and routed; but the

emperor was at hand; he perceived this movement; ordered Marshal Bessieres to go to the succour of his right, with his invincibles, and the two guards were soon engaged. Success could not be doubtful; in a moment the Russian guard was routed; their colonel, artillery, standards, and every thing were taken. The regiment of the grand duke Constantine was annihilated; he owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse.

"From the heights of Austerlitz the two emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard At the same moment the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced. All the charges were victorious. At one, P. M., the victory was decided; it had not been doubtful for a moment; not a man of the reserve was wanted, and had assisted no where: a cannonade was kept up only on our right. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, were on a flat, and near a lake. The emperor hastened thither, with twenty pieces of cannon. This corps was driven from position to position, and we saw the horrid spectacle, such as was seen at Aboukir, of 20,000 men throwing themselves in the lake. Two columns of Russians, 4000 each, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. All the enemy's park of artillery was taken.

"The result of this day is forty Russian standards, 20,000 prisoners, twelve or fifteen generals; at least 15,000 Russians killed on the field of battle." The French loss was comparatively inconsiderable. "Our army, though fine and numerous, was less numerous than that of the enemy, which

was 105,000 strong—80,000 Russians, and 25,000 Austrians: the half of this army was destroyed."

The day after this battle, Napoleon addressed to his army a proclamation, which closed with these words:

"Soldiers, when all that is necessary to secure the happiness and prosperity of our country shall be accomplished, I will lead you back to France; there you shall be the objects of my most tender solicitude: my people will behold you again with joy; and it will be sufficient for you to say, 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,' to authorize the reply —'Behold a brave man!'"

Many of the bulletins of the French army are known to have been written by Napoleon. Perhaps there is not any one among them all, in which more of this extraordinary man may be seen, than in the thirty-first, dated Austerlitz, December 5, which describes the interview between him and the emperor of Germany, with the interesting communications that passed between the former and the emperor Alexander, who was absolutely a prisoner till he had agreed to the capitulation proposed by Napoleon.

"The emperor of Germany did not conceal on his own part, nor that of the emperor of Russia, all the contempt which the conduct of England had inspired. He also made known to Napoleon, that the emperor of Russia wished to make a separate peace; that he would entirely abandon England. The emperor of Germany several times repeated in the conversation, that there was no doubt the quarrel with England was just on the part of France. He also demanded a truce for the remains of the Russian army. The emperor Napo-

leon gave him to understand, that, the Russian army being surrounded, not a man of them could escape: 'but,' added he, 'as I wish to oblige the emperor Alexander, I will suffer the Russians to pass. I will order my own columns to halt; but your majesty must promise me that the Russian army shall return to Russia, and evacuate Germany, Austrian and Prussian Poland.' 'That,' answered the emperor of Germany, 'I can assure you, is the intention of the emperor Alexander.' Bonaparte said to the emperor Francis, 'I receive you in the only palace I have lived in these two months.' The emperor Napoleon went through the field of battle, and had the wounded removed. Some of them forgot their sufferings, and said, 'Is the victory quite certain?' Forty-eight hours after the battle, there were a number of wounded Russians that could not be dressed. The foot guards of the emperor could not engage; they wept through spite, and absolutely insisted upon doing something. 'Be satisfied,' said Napoleon; 'you are the reserve; it will be better if you have nothing to do to-day.' The commander of the artillery of the imperial Russian guard lost his cannon. He met the emperor. 'Sire,' said he, 'order me to be shot; I have lost my cannon.' 'Young man,' replied the emperor, 'I esteem your tears; but one may be beaten by my army, and still retain some pretension to glory.' The French artillery did prodigious injury to the enemy. The emperor said, 'This gives me pleasure: it was in this corps I began my military career.'"

The emperor Alexander allowed it was the first time he had seen fire; that Napoleon was a great

warrior; and that he never thought of comparing himself with him.

The terms of the capitulation prescribed by Napoleon having been acceded to by Alexander, the Russian army began its march on the 8th of December, in three columns, and Alexander went at the head of the first.

The intelligence of the successes of the army of Germany was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the majority of the French people. From this moment the fanaticism of military glory quite effaced the few remaining impressions made upon them by the love of liberty. Napoleon had well calculated the results; he polished and brightened the fetters which he intended for his fellow citizens.

The emperor Napoleon, whose orders were executed at once upon the coasts of the German Ocean, and those of the Adriatic, in the kingdom of Naples, had collected upon the frontiers of his new kingdom of Italy all the troops dispersed in the interior, and intrusted the command of them to Marshal Massena. All these, amounting to about 40 or 50,000 men, formed five divisions of infantry, and occupied at first a line upon the Adige, nearly parallel with that of the Austrians on the other side of that river. Our limits will not allow us to detail the various operations of Massena and his generals, by which the Austrians, commanded by the archduke Charles, were driven from all their positions, until the French armies of Germany and Italy had formed a junction at Clagenfurth in Carinthia.

The Italian campaign of 1805 gave new lustre to the reputation of Marshal Massena, whose

manœuvres upon the Adige and the Isonzo proved that the conqueror of Zurich deserved to rank among the most able of the French generals.

Thus, in the course of two months, Napoleon had defeated two emperors on the field of battle, and compelled the emperor Francis to sign the humiliation of the house of Austria, by the treaty of Presburg that followed, in making a separate peace.

On the 27th of December, 1805, an official bulletin, issued from the palace of Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, announced to Europe the promotion of the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburg to the rank of monarchs, without ceasing to belong to the confederation of the Rhine; the re-union of Venice to the kingdom of Italy; and the resolution of the French emperor to expel the king of Naples and his family from his throne. Napoleon had also demanded the hand of the Princess Amelia Augusta of Bavaria for Prince Eugene, whom he proposed to adopt for his son.

CHAPTER XV.

Enthronement of the Kings of Wirtemburg and Bavaria—Adoption of the Viceroy of Italy—War with Naples—Offensive Conduct of the British Ministry respecting Prussia—Occupation of Dalmatia and Istria—Transfer of the Tyrol Country—Mr. Fox appointed to the British Ministry—Marriage of the Prince of Baden with Stephanie Beauharnois—Anecdotes of this interesting Lady—Constitution and Conduct of Napoleon's Council of State—Anecdotes—State Prisons in France—Public Works executed by Order of Bonaparte—Joseph Bonaparte made King of Naples, and Louis King of Holland—Other Promotions.

On the 1st of January, this year, the new kings of Wirtemburg and Bavaria were enthroned with much solemnity at Munich and at Stuttgard. On the same day the French tribunate presented to the senate the Russian and Austrian colours taken at Austerlitz, and sent to Paris by Napoleon, together with the ratifications of the treaty of Presburg, that had been exchanged at Vienna, which city was not entirely evacuated by the French troops till nine days after Napoleon had quitted this capital, on the 29th of December, for Munich, where he arrived on the 31st. Here he received the viceroy of Italy, Eugene Beauharnois, whom he adopted as his son on the 12th, and who was married to the princess royal of Bavaria on the day following.

The king of Naples was now doomed to feel the weight of Napoleon's vengeance. Queen Caroline, who had the entire government of her spouse, and was always influenced by her hatred against France, had promised to make a powerful

diversion in favour of England, with the assistance of the Russian and British troops, whom she expected at Naples. Hitherto Napoleon's unexpected successes had prevented her from carrying this project into execution.

On the 8th of January, the English forces had arrived at Naples as auxiliaries, but in a few days they re-embarked for Sicily. The Russians, who had come on the same errand, set sail for Corfu on the 13th of January, 1806.

Napoleon, who had destined the crown of Naples for his brother Joseph, had appointed him general-in-chief of the army sent to invade Naples.

Marshal Massena, in the mean time, was charged with directing the movements of the army, in which Gouvion St. Cyr and Regnier acted as lieutenant-generals. Whilst Massena was preparing for this grand enterprise, the British ministry exhibited an example of indiscretion, sufficient in itself to deter any power whatever from entering into alliance with them. They laid before the house of commons complete copies of the treaties concluded with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, and thus provoked a public discussion of their contents; a step involving a disclosure which Prussia was very unwilling to sanction, especially since the termination of the campaign. In fact, the same king of Prussia, whom the British ministry had compromised much less than he had done himself by his own conduct, three days after opening the parliament, on the 24th of January, announced to his army, by means of an article inserted in the gazette of Berlin, "the continuance of peace," which, to the eyes of impartial men, sufficiently exposed the absurd enterprises

in which he had been secretly engaged previous to the end of the year 1805.

On the same day that this article appeared in the official gazette at Berlin, the grand duke Constantine, who arrived there soon after the battle of Austerlitz, left that city, but not without taking leave of Baron Hardenberg, then considered as the head of the English party in the Prussian cabinet. Soon after this the Prussian troops invaded the electorate of Hanover, an act of hostility both against England and Sweden, in favour of which this court had armed but one month before, and which, six months after, it was again to repeat, though at the hazard of its existence.

On the other hand, the allies of France began to enjoy the advantages procured them by the treaty of Presburg. Napoleon passed the Rhine, and arrived at Paris on the 26th of January, 1806. He had already distributed his troops in such a manner as to act as an army of observation upon Prussia: hence the seventh corps of the grand army, under Marshal Augereau, began to establish itself about Frankfort on the Maine, at which place Augereau fixed his head-quarters. Negotiations, however, still continued between the Prussian cabinet and that of the Tuilleries; and on the 8th of March, the Prussian envoy, M. Haugwitz, concluded a treaty, in virtue of which Frederick William accepted of Hanover in exchange for several Prussian provinces, as Anspach, which was given to Bavaria, the principality of Neufchatel and de Valangin, the country of Cleves, and Wesel, which Napoleon reserved in favour of Marshal Berthier, or Prince Murat.

Other occupations of territory had been authorized by the treaty of Presburg. The generals Mollitor and Mathieu Dumas, at the head of a French corps, had begun to take possession of Dalmatia on the first of February; and on the same day the emperor of Austria sent troops to occupy the bishopric of Wurtzburg, which had fallen to his brother as an indemnity for the electorate of Salzburg. On the 11th of February, a French commissary delivered up the Tyrol to the delegates sent thither by the king of Bavaria; on the 16th, a proclamation announced the taking possession of Istria by the emperor of the French, king of Italy; on the 14th of March, the French troops occupied the city and territory of Nuremberg, in behalf of the king of Bavaria, to whom it was consigned. The latter, by a patent, dated the 15th of March, announced the cession of the dutchy of Berg to France; and Prince Murat announced, in his turn, the cession of Cleves and Berg, made to him by Napoleon. In fine, the kings of Wirtemburg and Bavaria, and the grand duke elector of Baden, continued in possession of their respective estates in Swabia, Franconia, and the Brisgau, under the auspices of France, which was several times constrained to send commissaries to adjust the differences that arose amongst these princes, about fixing their respective boundaries.

Whilst these arrangements were making upon the continent, the king of Great Britain called the illustrious Mr. Fox to the helm of public affairs, as the only person capable of supporting the tottering edifice of the ministry, shaken by the death of Pitt.

On the evening of the opening of the legislative corps, the hereditary prince of Baden arrived at

Paris, and two days afterwards the senate was in formed, by a message, of the marriage of this prince with a niece of the empress Josephine, Mademoiselle Stephanie Beauharnois, whom Napoleon had adopted some time before.

This union was for several years far from being happy. In course of time, however, the causes of difference gradually vanished; the prince and princess became attached to each other, and from that moment they had only to regret the happiness of which they had deprived themselves during the early years of their marriage.

At the conferences at Erfurt, the princess of Baden received the most marked attentions from her brother-in-law, the emperor Alexander. During the disasters of the French in 1813, persons who were at the head of political affairs succeeded in depriving the princess of the regard of her august relative, by circulating false reports to the prejudice of her character. Thus, when Alexander arrived at Manheim, in his triumphal march to Paris, he by no means treated Princess Stephanie with due respect. On this occasion, the conduct pursued by the prince of Baden reflected true glory on his character. The most august personages surrounded him, and urged him to repudiate the wife whom he had received from the hands of Napoleon. But the prince, with true nobleness of sentiment, rejected the idea, observing that he would never commit such an act of baseness, which would be as repugnant to his affections as to his honour. This generous prince afterwards fell a victim to a tedious and painful illness. The princess personally attended on her husband throughout the whole of his sufferings, performing with

her own hands all the minute services that his situation required; her devoted attachment gained her the admiration of all her relatives and subjects

Princess Stephanie at all times professed the highest veneration for him, who, when in the enjoyment of boundless power, had benevolently adopted her as his child.

The *council of state* being frequently mentioned, some account of its constitution and conduct may illustrate the character of its founder:

The council of state, as a whole, were Napoleon's real council, and his mind in deliberation, as the ministers were his mind in execution. At the council of state were prepared the laws which the emperor presented to the legislative body, a circumstance which rendered it altogether one of the elements of the legislative power. In the council, the emperor's decrees and rules of public administration were drawn up; and the plans of his ministers were examined, discussed and corrected.

This council received appeals, and pronounced finally on all administrative judgments; and incidentally on those of all other tribunals, even those of the court of cassation. There complaints against the ministers were examined, and appeals from the emperor to the emperor better informed. Thus the council of state, at which the emperor uniformly presided, being frequently in direct opposition to the ministers, or occupied in reforming their acts and errors, naturally become the point of refuge for persons or interests aggrieved by any authority whatever.

So little was the nature of this council understood by the people in general, that it was believed no one dare utter a word in that assembly, in oppo-

sition to the emperor's opinion. Thus Las Cases very much surprised many persons, when he related the fact, that one day, during a very animated debate, the emperor, having been interrupted three times in giving his opinion, turned towards the individual who had rather rudely cut him short, and said in a sharp tone—"I have not yet done. I beg you will allow me to continue. I believe every one here has a right to deliver his opinion." The smartness of this reply, notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion, excited a general laugh, in which the emperor himself joined.

Every member was at liberty to speak; if several rose at the same time, the order of precedence was regulated by the emperor. When he thought the question, in which he usually took no inconsiderable share himself, sufficiently discussed, he made a summary of the arguments, which was always luminous, and frequently marked with novelty and point, which, thus being brought to a conclusion, was put to the vote.

The greatest freedom prevailed in these debates. The animation of the speakers, increasing by degrees, became sometimes excessive, and the discussion was often protracted beyond measure, particularly when the emperor, occupied probably with some other subject, seemed, either from abstraction or something else, to be altogether ignorant of what was going on. He then commonly cast an irresolute eye over the hall, cut pencils with his penknife, pricked the tapestry of his table, or the arm of his chair, with the point of it, or employed his pencil or pen in scrawling whimsical marks or sketches, which, after he was gone, excited the ardent attention of the young members, who made a

kind of scramble for them; and it was curious to observe, when he happened to have traced the name of some country or capital, the hyperbolical inferences that were sought to be extracted from it. Sometimes, too, when the emperor entered the council, as soon as his dinner was ended, and having undergone great fatigue during the morning, he would fold his arms upon the table, lay down his head, and fall asleep. The arch-chancellor proceeded with the deliberations, which were continued without interruption; and the emperor, on awakening, immediately caught up the thread of the discussion, though the previous subject might have been ended, and another introduced. The emperor often asked for a glass of water and sugar; and a table in the adjoining room was always laid out with refreshments for his use, without any precautions being adopted as to the individuals who were permitted to approach it.

One day the counsellor of state, General Gassendi, taking part in the debate of the moment, dwelt a long time upon the doctrines of economists. The emperor, who was much attached to his old artillery comrade, stopped him, saying, "My dear general, where did you gain all this knowledge? Where did you imbibe these principles?" Gassendi replied, that he had borrowed his opinions from Napoleon himself. "How!" exclaimed the emperor with warmth—"What do you say? Is it possible? From me, who have always thought, that, if there existed a monarchy of granite, the chimeras of political economists would reduce it to powder!" And, after some other remarks, partly ironical and partly serious, he concluded—"Go, general! you must have fallen asleep in your office, and have

dreamed all this."—Gassendi, who was rather irascible, replied—"Oh, as for falling asleep in our offices, sire, I defy any one to do that with you; you plague us too much for that." All the council burst into a fit of laughter, and the emperor laughed louder than any one.

A scene of a very different kind occurred another time. A religious party was fomenting civil discord in the state, by secretly circulating bulls and letters from the pope. They were shown to M. Portal, a counsellor of state, appointed to superintend religious worship, and who, if he did not himself circulate them, at least neither prevented nor denounced their circulation. This was discovered, and the emperor suddenly challenged him with the fact in open council. "What could have been your motive, sir?" said he. "Were you influenced by your religious principles? If so, why are you here? I use no control over the conscience of any man. Did I force you to become my counsellor of state? On the contrary, you solicited the post as a high favour. You are the youngest member of the council, and perhaps the only one who has not some personal claim to that honour: you had nothing to recommend you but the inheritance of your father's services. You took a personal oath to me: how could your religious feelings permit you openly to violate that oath, as you have just now done? Speak, however; you are here in confidence; your colleagues shall be your judges. Your crime is a great one, sir. A conspiracy for the commission of a violent act is stopped as soon as we seize the arm that holds the poniard; but a conspiracy to influence the public mind has no end: it is like a train of gunpowder. Perhaps at

this very moment whole towns are thrown into commotion through your fault." The counsellor quite confused, said nothing in reply: the first appeal was sufficient to establish the fact. The members of the council, to the majority of whom this event was quite unexpected, were struck with astonishment, and observed profound silence. "Why," continued the emperor, "did you not, according to the obligation imposed by your oath, discover to me the criminal and his plots? Am I not at all times accessible to every one of you?"—"Sire," said the counsellor at length, venturing to reply, "he was my cousin."—"Your crime is then the greater, sir," replied the emperor sharply; "your kinsman could only have been placed in office at your solicitation: from that moment the responsibility devolved on you. When I look upon a man as entirely devoted to me, as your situation ought to render you, all who are connected with him, and all for whom he becomes responsible, from that time require no watching. These are my maxims." The accused member still remained silent, and the emperor continued—"The duties which a counsellor of state owes to me are immense. You, sir, have violated those duties, and you hold the office no longer. Begone: let me never see you here again!"

The disgraced counsellor, as he was withdrawing, passed very near the emperor: the latter looked at him and said—"I am sincerely grieved at this, sir; for the services of your father are still fresh in my memory." When he was gone, the emperor added—"I hope such a scene as this may never be renewed; it has done me too much harm. I am not distrustful, but may become so! I have allowed

myself to be surrounded by every party: I have placed near my person even emigrants, and soldiers of the army of Condé; and though it was wished to induce them to assassinate me, yet, to do them justice, they have continued faithful. Since I have held the reins of government, this is the first individual employed about me, by whom I have been betrayed:" and then, turning towards M. Locré, who took notes of the debates of the council of state, he said, "write down *betrayed*—do you hear?"

The existence of state-prisons under Napoleon has been strongly objected to, especially by the English; but these he contended were a benefit. He justly observed, that, considering the crisis from which France had emerged, the factions that divided her, and the plots that had been laid, imprisonment became indispensable. To become a prisoner of state was the means of preserving numbers from the scaffold. No person, according to Napoleon's law, could be thus detained without the decision of his privy council, which consisted of sixteen persons. None could be imprisoned more than a year, without a fresh decision of that council, and four votes out of sixteen would procure any person's release. The fact is, that, at the time of Napoleon's downfall, the state prisons scarcely contained 250 individuals; and when he became consul, he found 9000 persons confined in them.

On the 2d of March, the emperor in person, with great pomp, opened the sittings of the legislative body. On the 5th, the minister of the interior attended the assembly, to acquaint them with the situation of the empire. He dwelt upon the dikes

that had been formed near the Rhone, to restrain the inundations of that river; decrees issued in favour of commerce; schools for the instruction of youth; new routes literally traversing Savoy, in spite of innumerable obstacles; the public establishments in Piedmont, then an integral part of the French empire, especially at Casal, Turin, and Alexandria; the latter place intended to become one of the principal bulwarks of the empire.

The emperor's victories, his moderation, his new alliances, and their mutual advantages, were rapidly touched upon by the minister, who, in returning to the affairs of the interior, enumerated the efforts made to increase the ameliorations introduced into the administration of justice, and the measures adopted to carry the police to the highest degree of perfection. He then called the attention of his auditors to the fine roads uudertaken over the Simplon, Mount Cenes, and from Mount Genevre across the Maurienne, and the rocks between Genoa and Toulon; he also enumerated the many roads completed, or commenced, in different parts of the empire; the immense labours undertaken for improving the ancient routes; he spoke of the bridges built or rebuilt over the Rhine, the Meuse, the Loire, the Cher, the Loing, the Rhone, the Saone, the Durance, the Isere; the towing-paths along the sides of many rivers; the Po made navigable; the six great canals, and others less important, commenced, traced, or projected, and all intended to unite the two seas by means of internal navigation, or to connect the rivers of France so as to open new channels for commerce; the establishment of swing, or chain bridges throughont the empire; three lines of telegraphs, and a better or-

ganization of bridges and causeways. The minister pointed out the two new cities built in the room of those destroyed during the civil wars in the departments of Morbihan and La Vendée, besides basins which had been dug in thirty-five ports, sluices, canals, quays, jettys, and moles established or repaired, ports enlarged, &c.

The road over the Simplon, extending from Geneva to Milan, was constructed by order of Bonaparte, under the direction of M. Ceard, on whom it confers immortal honour.

In the course of this grand route, more than forty bridges, of various forms, are thrown from one wild chasm to another, numerous galleries, or subterranean passages, are not only cut through the solid rock, but through the *glaciers* also—those "thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;"—and if to these we add the aqueducts that carry off the water; the grand canal; the walls that support and flank the whole of the route; together with the innumerable works of art which must necessarily enter into, and form a part of this more than Herculean work; we are at a loss which most to admire, the genius which contrived, or the skill which executed, so stupendous a work. More than 30,000 men were constantly employed in this undertaking, which was finished in 1805, after three years' incessant labour. The road is now wide enough to admit three carriages abreast, but until the year 1801, it was impassable.

On the 30th of March, Prince Joseph had been proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily; the principality of Guastalla was transferred to the Princess Pauline, sister to Napoleon, under the title of dutchess of Guastalla; and that of Neufchatel to

Marshal Berthier, by the title of prince of Neufchatel.

On the 5th of June, the grand seignior, having previously acknowledged the emperor Napoleon, Mouhib Effendi, ambassador extraordinary from the Porte, had his first audience of Napoleon, at Paris.

On the same day, his majesty proclaimed his brother Louis king of Holland; and an imperial decree was passed, transferring to M. Talleyrand the principality of Benevento, under the title of prince; and, by another decree, Bernadotte, marshal of the empire, was nominated prince of Ponte Corvo.

One of the last acts of the senate, this year, was to grant the levy of 80,000 men out of the conscription for 1807. The prospect at that period was encouraging and flattering to French valour, which, by the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz, had excited the admiration of Europe, and left France without a rival on the continent.

END OF VOL. I.

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